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CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

JANUARY—FEBRUARY

PAGE

THE MESSAGE OF BAPTISM 9
Professor J. A. Faulkner, D.D., Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

THE BISHOP A MEMBER IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE—A STUDY 25
Robert T. Miller, LL.D., Cincinnati, O.

THE CIVIC VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT 44
Wallace MacMullen, D.D., New York, N. Y.

THOMAS ARNOLD AT OXFORD: A RETROSPECT 55
Professor James Main Dixon, F.R.S., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Cal.

VISIONS OF THE CHRIST 65
Professor Oscar Kuhns, Ph.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

BROWNING AND OMAR KHAYYÁM 77
Professor A. W. Crawford, Ph.D., University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada.

THE PRACTICE OF ROMAN COURTS AS SEEN IN THE PROSECUTION OF VERRES 90
E. B. T. Spencer, A.M., Collegio Metodista, Rome, Italy.

SHAKESPEAREANA 102
Professor T. W. Hunt, Ph.D., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.

LA SAISIAZ 114
Professor H. J. Hoover, Ph.D., Baker University, Baldwin, Kan.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

Notes and Discussions 120
The Message of the Fathers, 121.

The Arena 131
A Worthy Creed, 131; The Young People's Society, 132.

The Itinerants' Club 134
Christ's Teaching Concerning Almsgiving and Prayer, 134.

Archæology and Biblical Research 137
A New Collection of Ancient Texts, 137.

Foreign Outlook 142
The Conservative Tendency of Old Testament Scholarship, 142.

Glimpses of Reviews and Magazines 145

Book Notices 153
Thomas's Christianity is Christ, 153; Macfarland's The Christian Ministry and the Social Order, 156; McFadyen's The City with Foundations, 159; Young's To-Day: An Age of Opportunity, 161; Bacheller's The Master, 163; Rogers's Prophecy and Poetry, 166; Chesterton's George Bernard Shaw, 169; Crothers's Oliver Wendell Holmes, 172; Warren's The Earliest Cosmologies, 174; Watkins's Young Life of Famous Folk, 175.

1933

CONTENTS OF THE VOLUME

JANUARY—FEBRUARY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SOUTHERN BRANCH
LIBRARY

MARCH—APRIL

PAGE

I. JESUS OR CHRIST? 177
Professor BORDEN P. BOWNE, LL.D., Boston University, Boston, Mass.

II. THEOLOGY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD 194
Rev. H. F. RALL, PH.D., Baltimore, Md.

III. A FRIEND OF LAMB'S: WILLIAM HAZLITT 211
H. T. BAKER, A.M., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis.

IV. DENOMINATIONAL CONTROL OF COLLEGES 224
THOMAS NICHOLSON, D.D., LL.D., Corresponding Secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, New York, N. Y.

V. THE CASE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH 234
R. J. COOKE, D.D., Book Editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

VI. THE SPIRITUAL BEAUTY OF THE DOCTRINE OF EVOLUTION .. 258
A. J. LYMAN, D.D., Brooklyn, N. Y.

VII. THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH 266
G. M. HAMMELL, D.D., Cincinnati, O.

VIII. A NEW ESSAYIST 269
CHARLES L. GOODELL, D.D., New York, N. Y.

IX. MUSIC AND WORSHIP 280
Rev. S. F. DAVIS, A.M., Elizabeth, N. J.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 290
Richard Watson Gilder on Ideals of Life, 290.

THE ARENA 300
Bishops in the General Conference, 300; Answers to Prayer for Temporal Things, 301.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 303
Sermonic Literature, 303; English Versions of The Lord's Prayer, 304.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 308
The Pontifical Biblical Institute, 308; Notes from Rome, 312.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 313
Newest Aspects of the Study of the History of Dogma, 313.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 317

BOOK NOTICES 321
What is Christianity? 321; Tisdall's Comparative Religion, 323; Horton's Great Issues, 327; Thompson's Shelley, 330; Buckley's The Wrong and Peril of Woman Suffrage, 333; Gladden's Recollections, 335; A Memoir of the Right Honorable William Edward Hartpole Lecky, 340; Faust's The German Element in the United States, 343.

MAY—JUNE

PAGE

I. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN: HOW HE FOUND A LIGHT AMID THE ENCIRCLING GLOOM 345
Rev. EDWIN LEWIS, B.D., Madison, N. J.

II. THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF GOD TO MAN 363
Rev. FRED LEITCH, PH.D., Skowhegan, Me.

III. PULPIT MANNERISMS AND MANNERS 375
ISAAC CROOK, D.D., Spokane, Wash.

IV. THE APOSTLE OF THE SUPERMAN 385
Professor J. F. L. RASCHEN, PH.D., Lafayette College, Easton, Pa.

V. AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF LIFE IN THE CHURCHES 395
J. W. VAN CLEVE, D.D., Champaign, Ill.

VI. "ARMS AND THE MAN" 402
GEORGE C. PECK, D.D., New York, N. Y.

VII. THE SEVENTH HERO: A SUGGESTION TO SOME NEW CARLYLE 411
Rev. JOSEPH M. M. GRAY, A.M., Baltimore, Md.

VIII. RACE CONFLICT 423
GEORGE A. GRANT, D.D., Stafford Springs, Conn.

IX. HOW I FOUND STANLEY 431
Professor R. T. STEVENSON, D.D., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, O.

X. WHERE THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD FAILS 438
Rev. FOSTER C. ANDERSON, A.M., East Palestine, O.

XI. THE PREACHER OF THE EVANGEL 445
L. H. BUGBEE, D.D., Brookline, Mass.

XII. THE PREACHER'S PULPIT PRAYERS 451
C. F. REISNER, D.D., New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 456
A Revival of Religion, 456; Address at a High School Commencement, 458.

THE ARENA 468
The Veiled Prophet, 468; The Pre-Raphaelites, 471; Relation of Bishops to the General Conference, 472; Membership of a Bishop, 473.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 474
The Preacher and Social Science, 474; An Important View of the Ideal Minister, 477.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 479
Abraham, 479; The Amurru, 481.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 484
Concerning the Periodical Literature of German Protestantism, 484.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 487

BOOK NOTICES 491
The Fundamentals, 491; Lyman's The Christian Pastor in the New Age, 494; Joynt's Pastoral Work, 498; Phelps's Essays on Modern Novelists, 504; Crawford's Thoburn and India, 508; Clarke's The Christian Doctrine of God, 511.

JULY—AUGUST

PAGE

I. BORDEN PARKER BOWNE 513
Professor GEORGE A. COE, PH.D., LL.D., Union Theological Seminary, New York, N. Y.

II. JESUS CHRIST ON MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE 525
Professor MILTON S. TERRY, D.D., Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

III. THE POET HERRICK 543
Professor WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, PH.D., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

IV. THE CARNEGIE FOUNDATION AND THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY 550
President EUGENE A. NOBLE, D.D., Goucher College, Baltimore, Md.

V. A PLEA FOR THE CONGREGATION 563
Rev. W. W. T. DUNCAN, A.M., New Rochelle, N. Y.

VI. SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY 575
E. C. WILM, PH.D., Washburne College, Topeka, Kan.

VII. WOMAN'S WORK IN THE EARLY CHURCH 584
Chancellor FRANKLIN HAMILTON, D.D., American University, Washington, D. C.

VIII. METHODIST METHODS IN ROME 590
Rev. GRANT PERKINS, A.M., Norway, Mich.

IX. PRAGMATISM AND THE PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY 598
President F. L. STRICKLAND, PH.D., Simpson College, Indianola, Ia.

X. ISRAEL'S THREAD IN HISTORY 605
Rev. E. G. RICHARDSON, A.M., Bristol, Conn.

XI. AN INTERPRETER OF BROWNING 610
ELLA B. HALLOCK, Southold, N. Y.

XII. A STUDY IN LOCAL CHURCH FEDERATION 615
Rev. GEORGE F. WELLS, A.M., Burlington, Vt.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 619
A Letter from Professor Bowne, 619; Pleasures and Pains of Foreign Travel, 620.

THE ARENA 640
What Wesley Said About Calvin, 640; The Earliest Traceable Astronomy, 642; "Service in Plant Life," 643.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 644
Ministerial Fidelity, 644; The "Los-Von-Rom" Movement in Austria, 646.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 647
Hilprecht's Deluge Tablet, 647.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 651
Recent Personal Changes in German Protestant Theological Faculties, 651; Arthur Drews and the "Christ Myth," 652.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 654

BOOK NOTICES 659
Vance's Tendency, 659; Huizinga's Belief in a Personal God, 663; Van Dyke's The Spirit of America, 667; Huneker's Egoists, 670; Butler's Ten Great and Good Men, 673; Montgomery's Western Women in Eastern Lands, 678; Hocking's The Soul of Dominic Wildthorne, 680.

SEPTEMBER—OCTOBER

PAGE

I. SOME PROBLEMS INVOLVED IN INDIA'S EVANGELIZATION..... 681
Bishop F. W. WARNE, D.D., Lucknow, India.

II. INTELLECTUAL FRONTIERSMEN..... 696
President F. J. MCCONNELL, D.D., LL.D., DePauw University, Greencastle, Indiana.

III. SAMPLE LATIN LYRICS BY SIXTEENTH CENTURY GERMANS... 706
Professor K. P. HARRINGTON, PH.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

IV. THE UNCOMMON COMMONPLACE..... 726
Bishop W. A. QUAYLE, D.D., LL.D., Oklahoma City, Okla.

V. THE SOLITARINESS OF THE HUMAN SOUL..... 734
HENRY GRAHAM, D.D., Albany, N. Y.

VI. CHRISTIANITY AND THE SUPERNATURAL..... 739
President A. B. STORMS, D.D., LL.D., Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa.

VII. WILLIAM JOHNSON FOX—LITERARY FATHER OF ROBERT BROWNING..... 750
S. G. AYRES, A.M., Librarian of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J.

VIII. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF POETRY..... 754
President R. W. COOPER, D.D., LL.D., Upper Iowa University, Fayette, Iowa.

IX. AN INDIAN SUMMER IN THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL..... 769
O. L. JOSEPH, A.M., B.D., Suffern, N. Y.

X. MOSES, AN INTERPRETATION..... 774
FRANK CRANE, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

XI. WHAT IS THE UNPARDONABLE SIN?..... 784
Rev. A. S. WALLS, A.M., Dauphin, Pa.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS..... 788
The Filial and the Unfilial, 788; Christ's Law of Antagonism, 789.

THE ARENA..... 794
Bishops in the General Conference, 794; An Old Description of the Bible, 795; Sunday Delivery of Mail, 798.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB..... 800
Summer Vacation Notes, 800; The Spirit of Christian Unity, 801.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH..... 804
Excavations in Mesopotamia, 804.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK..... 808
The Borromeo Encyclical and German Protestants, 808; Methodism in the Judgment of German Churchmen, 809.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES..... 813

BOOK NOTICES..... 819
Parkhurst's The Sunny Side of Christianity, 819; Maclaren's Expositions of Holy Scripture, 822; Watkinson's The Fatal Barter, 825; Upham's Simon Peter, Shepherd, 828; Begbie's Twice Born Men, 830; Winchester's A Group of English Essayists, 832; Brown's Government By Influence, 834; Fowler's Patriotic Orations, 837; Gilchrist's The Life of Mary Lyon, 840; Schaff's History of the Christian Church, 842; Mudge's History of the New England Conference, 844; Leonard's The Roman Catholic Church at the Fountain Head, 845.

SUPPLEMENT. THE VATICAN'S ATTACK ON METHODISM: A REPLY TO ARCHBISHOP IRELAND..... 847
R. J. COOKE, D.D., Book Editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

NOVEMBER—DECEMBER

PAGE

I. THE SUPREMACY OF CHRIST 881
The late Professor BOWNE of Boston University.

II. THE LITERATURE OF SAINTS; OR, THE REALISM OF GOOD 890
Bishop E. R. HENDRIX, D.D., LL.D., Kansas City, Mo.

III. THREE BORDER TOWNS 912
Professor A. C. ARMSTRONG, PH.D., Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.

IV. THE GENIUS OF METHODISM AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE IMMINENT APPEARING OF CHRIST 925
H. R. CALKINS, A.M., B.D., Cawnpore, India.

V. LEST WE FORGET 944
Bishop WILLIAM BURT, D.D., LL.D., Zurich, Switzerland.

VI. ORATORY IN THE WORLD MISSIONARY CONFERENCE 956
H. K. CARROLL, LL.D., Plainfield, N. J.

VII. THE REDEMPTION OF THE PRAYER MEETING 963
W. W KING, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.

VIII. THE CHURCH TO MEET THE NEW NEED 972
A. H. GOODENOUGH, D.D., Stamford, Conn.

IX. THE WIZARDRY OF HARDSHIP 980
C. F. REISNER, D.D., New York, N. Y.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS:

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS 987
The Peaks and Plains of Christian Experience, 987.

THE ARENA 998
Progressive Sanctification, 998; The Jesuit's Oath, 999.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB 1002
Spontaneity and Method in Christian Service, 1002; What is a Mission Field? 1004.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH 1007
The Harvard Expedition to Samaria, 1007

FOREIGN OUTLOOK 1011
Recent Theological Literature, 1011.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES 1014

BOOK NOTICES 1024
Quayle's The Pastor-Preacher, 1024; Strong's My Religion in Everyday Life, 1028; Roads's Rural Christendom, 1030; Hardy's Time's Laughingstocks, 1033; Greene's The Gospel in Literature, 1036; Earland's Ruskin and His Circle, 1040; Ferrero's The Valley of Aosta, 1044.

INDEX 1047

METHODIST REVIEW

JANUARY, 1910

ART. I.—THE MESSAGE OF BAPTISM[1]

IF any of my honored colleagues have thought of the matter, or have reckoned back the swiftly flying years, they have noticed that it is not six years since I occupied this place in this sacramental service, as it would naturally be, but only five. One year of the reckoning has dropped. It was that year when our great dear Dr. Upham—for he was great in more senses than one, *nomen venerabile et clarum*—went up to the Light Eternal. As I recall his presence on that occasion, exactly five years ago this very moment, I let fall in passing this reference to the noble memory of one which those who knew him will keep green in their hearts forever. In this sacramental service it seems fitting to recall the spiritual message of the sacraments as given in the New Testament. And as on February 24, 1904, I considered the message of the Lord's Supper, it remains for me this morning to consider the religious challenge of baptism—not the doctrine, but the spiritual message of baptism as found in our New Testament sources. Text: Acts 10. 44-48.

Jesus came to a world where baptisms were the everyday acts of religious cleansing. So far as historical background is concerned, Christianity has enough and to spare. There were the numerous washings, immersions, pourings, or sprink-

[1] A sermon preached in Drew Theological Seminary on the occasion of the presence for the last time of the senior class as a whole at the Wednesday morning preaching service, on which occasion since 1899 the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is administered.

lings prescribed in the Mosaic law, all of which had, however, only ritualistic, ceremonial, or external religious significance (see Heb. 9. 9, 10). Of the number and importance of these baptisms we who are brought up in a religion of the Spirit can have very little idea. They attended the Israelite all through his life, and met him at almost every turn. We may be glad to be free from that yoke. Still, we may recognize that outside of the religious significance they had indirectly a valuable sanitary office, and helped, among other things, to give the Jews that superb health and toughness which has kept them a distinct race to the present. Then there were the proselyte baptisms. For a long time there was a dispute as to whether the baptism of proselytes coming into Judaism from heathenism arose as early as the time of Christ. But we know now that these baptisms were in full swing in the first and second centuries; and, if so, they were, as Schürer and Edersheim have shown, practiced before. After Christianity became an established faith it would have been impossible for Judaism, with its intense hatred of the new religion, to take over from that religion the custom of baptizing its converts. That custom was introduced long prior to the Incarnation. In fact, since all heathens were ceremonially and religiously unclean, it is inconceivable to think of proselytes being received without the religiously purifying bath.[1] All proselytes, male and female, were baptized, or rather baptized themselves. How was this done? They entered the water in a state of complete or almost complete nudity, preferably into a running stream, waded out up to the shoulders or neck, were asked whether they received the yoke of the law, or questions to that effect, and on their answering "Yes," they bowed the head underneath the water, and rose up new creatures. There is no doubt that these proselyte baptisms were perfectly well known in the time of Jesus—taken for granted with every new comer into Israel. In fact, the echo of them is heard in one of the earliest and most precious documents of Christian antiquity, the Didache, or so-called Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, written anywhere between 80 and 120, where directions are

[1] See the excellent remarks of Schürer, Gesch. des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi, 3 Aufl., Leipzig, 1898, iii, 129–132.

given that when one is baptized the immersion must take place, if possible, in running water. O yes, there were plenty of presuppositions for Christian baptism. But there was a more important one still. John the Baptist came preaching the baptism of repentance as a preparation for the Messianic kingdom, and immersing in the Jordan all who came to him with penitence. This baptism of John, though it had analogies to previous customs, especially to proselyte baptism, was really a new thing in Israel, as it was given to every Israelite without distinction who desired it as a symbol of moral cleansing. Priest, scribe, Pharisee, soldier, peasant—all were baptized on the confession and renunciation of their sins. The Messianic kingdom was to be a kingdom of holiness, not ceremonial holiness, but actual holiness, holiness of heart and life, and underneath all the distinctions that divided Jew from Jew was the common moral unfitness to receive the new guest from God. Therefore they must repent of their sins, and as a symbol of their changed state go under the waters of the Jordan. This was the baptism of John, and it was the immediate historical introduction to Christian baptism. Under its influence for a brief time, in Jesus's opening Judæan ministry, his own disciples baptized those who came to the Master (John 4. 1, 2), though the practice was soon discontinued, due in part to the removal from the country of the Jordan, in part to the martyrdom of John and the consequent cessation of his baptisms, after which the disciples of Jesus had no heart, perhaps, for theirs, and in part to the new interests, problems, ideas, ideals, dangers, etc., of the Galilæan ministry.

There was another element in that historic background on which Christian baptism stepped forth to men, and that is the baptism of the Græco-Roman mysteries, of the Egyptian and other heathen religions. Scholars who belong to what we would call the comparative-religion school, the school which looks upon religions scientifically and historically, without reference to their divine origin or divine content, love to trace the resemblances between Christianity and other religions, with the inference not far removed that they are all at bottom divine in about the same sense. Now, we have incontrovertible evidence that later Christianity

borrowed industriously—sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously—from that old heathen world, that she took over many pagan customs, restamped them with Christian names and adapted them to Christian uses, and that that spoiling of the heathen accounts largely for the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages and earlier, and for much in the so-called Catholic Church of to-day (the Roman, Greek, High Anglican, etc). Every historian knows this. But that is far different from saying that in that earliest time of the church's life her sacraments were shaped by the Greek mysteries, or received their impulse from them. For, first, no moral change was required from the *καθάρσια*, the purifying baptisms of the mysteries, no more than is required to be initiated into a secret lodge to-day, whereas, in Christianity a religious change, or profound religious preparation, was necessary. Second, the whole spiritual background of the pagan baptisms was different. As Rhode well says: "It was not a heartfelt consciousness of sin, not a moral sense of pain that the purifying rite had to assuage; rather, it was the superstitious dread of a world of spirits, hovering over men with eerie presence, and clutching at them with a thousand hands out of the dim obscurity, which called for the help of the purifier and the atoning priest.[1] There were all kinds of trivial defilements from which the superstitious looked for cleansing, in their baptisms, something similar to the ceremonial cleansings of the levitical law. But in Christianity there was the one bath for the remission of sin, a rite which, before it became degraded in later times, marked a great crisis in a man's spiritual history. I must agree, therefore, with Anrich, that there is nothing in the early history of Christian baptism to suggest the pagan mysteries,[2] though in the later rites I could not be at all so sure.

Let us now take a rapid glance through our New Testament sources to find out what is the spiritual message of baptism to us as Christian men and ministers. The first mention of Christ in relation to baptism is that of John: "I baptize you in [or with]

[1] Psyche, 368, quoted by Cheetham, Mysteries Pagan and Christian. London, 1897, 101.
[2] Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum. Göttingen, 1894, 118–19.

water; but he shall baptize you in [or with] the Holy Spirit" (Mark 1. 8). Here John's baptism is placed in contrast to that which Jesus is to found, this latter being not an outward rite but an actually divine thing, namely, the communication of the Holy Spirit by such an outpouring that the subjects of it are possessed and, so to speak, covered by it. Then comes the actual baptism of Jesus by John, where Jesus places himself in absolute oneness with the sinful race of man, and for them and with them fulfills all righteousness. The next reference is the familiar passage in John 3. 5, which some interpreters refer to Christian baptism, with the implication that unless one is thus baptized he cannot be saved. But a little attention to the historical situation makes that implication impossible. Christian baptism was not yet instituted, nor did Nicodemus know anything about it, and it was therefore impossible that he should be saved by it. What he did know about was the baptism of John for the remission of sins, a baptism for the preparation for the Messiah, as the expression of the repentance and change of heart by which alone the Messiah could be received when he came. Nicodemus and others of his party, with their lofty consciousness of ritual cleanness, of their being now in possession of all the blessings of the true Israel of God, disdained that baptism, and refused to confess their sins and go under the waters of the Jordan at the hands of the shaggy prophet of the wilderness. So Christ meets him on his own ground. It is as though he said to him: "John's mission was from God; his baptism was from heaven; you and your brethren think yourselves above it and have proudly refused it; but in that humble way of confession and repentance of sin, symbolized by that cleansing and by the new birth of the Spirit—only in that way can you enter into the kingdom of God."

The only remaining passage in the Gospels which we have to deal with (since Mark 16. 16, is not genuine) is the great commission—Matt. 28. 19. This is the only place where Christ speaks of baptism as something to be observed in his church. In fact, the total absence of all prophecies or promises concerning the future baptism which he was to institute is something startling if baptism is the saving ordinance taught by Catholicism of all

shades. That Christ himself did not believe that baptism was the regenerating rite of his kingdom is shown by his unvarying emphasis on the spiritual and ethical when he speaks of salvation or entrance into his fold, his unbroken silence as to the regenerating office of any ritual bath.

The Ritschlian school of historians have in my judgment, however, gone too far in cutting out Matt. 28. 19, and claiming that Jesus did not institute the sacrament of Christian baptism, except as he started an historical evolution which included it. What they say is this: (1) There is no record in the New Testament of any baptisms in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, which is inconceivable on the supposition that Christ actually gave such a command. The baptisms are always in the name of Christ alone. (2) This baptism was kept up in the second century and even in the third century. (3) It was not Jesus's custom to give formulæ or liturgical rubrics according to which religious acts were to be performed. (4) As a matter of fact, such formulæ were not in use in primitive Christianity. (5) The struggle with which Paul had to carry through the full independent right of taking the gospel to the Gentiles is inconceivable if Christ ever gave the great commission of Matt. 28. 19. Nor on the strength of that commission would it ever have occurred to the council of Acts 15 to legitimate Paul and Barnabas as apostles to the Gentiles and Peter as the apostle to the circumcision. The original apostles would have claimed as of right a universal apostolate. (6) Paul could not have known the baptismal command of Matt. 28. 19, or he would not have thrown aside the duty of baptizing as something to which he was not called, nor could he have thanked God that he had baptized only two or three in the great church at Corinth (1 Cor. 1. 14-17). (7) Peter himself does not seem to feel that baptism is any special duty of his, as he turns it over to others (Acts 10. 48). Such are the arguments of some of the "advanced" school of the early church historians.[1] I must confess that to me these arguments are more plausible than convincing. (1) How do we know that

[1] For a handy statement of them see Feine, art. Taufe, Schriftlehre, in the Herzog-Hauck, 3 Aufl. xix, 397 (1907).

Christ gave Matt. 28. 19, as an actual rubric or formula to be repeated by the mouth? Did he not have a deeper meaning—a spiritual dedication into the very nature of God as manifested by Christ through the Holy Spirit? Of course we do well to use those exact words, but it is not likely that Christ was commanding a formula to be literally observed. (2) According to the New Testament conception of God, baptism into the name of Christ was really equivalent to baptism into the name of the Trinity. In the consciousness of the apostolic Christians Christ mediated God and sent forth the Holy Spirit. (3) The first Christian baptisms were given to Jews, who, as already believing in God, would naturally be baptized into the name of Jesus. The same course might well be pursued for a time with Gentiles, to whom the acceptance of Christ meant the acceptance of the Christian's God. (4) We cannot argue that because Christ gave certain general directions, which at times may have assumed even the form of an actual prescription, the early Christians must inevitably follow these directions according to the letter. In the free life of the first church the Spirit did not lead them into hard-and-fast forms or expressions, though he did lead them into all the truth that they could bear at the time. For instance, it is allowed by nearly all critics that Christ gave what we call the Lord's Prayer. Must, therefore, that prayer be used by Christians? And if we find them not using it, must we infer he never gave it? Not at all. That prayer absolutely disappears in apostolic Christianity. It emerges in the second century. But because there is just as little trace of it in apostolic times as of what we call the Trinitarian baptismal formula, must we, therefore, infer that Christ never uttered this prayer? Neither need we infer that Christ never spoke Matt. 28. 19, because, so far as we know to the contrary, people were always baptized in the name of Christ in the apostolic age. (5) Because the first disciples did not immediately grasp the universal destination of the gospel is no reason for supposing that Christ did not give the great commission. He foretold his death, but his disciples were as much surprised and staggered by it as though it had never been told them. The world-wide gospel was distinctly announced by Jesus on other occasions

(Matt. 24. 14), but it took the revealings of the Spirit after the ascension and the teachings of history to bring that truth home to the apostles. (6) Paul's and Peter's indifference to baptism by their own hands, so long as it was performed by others, is no argument against Matt. 28. 19, inasmuch as the confining of the administration of baptism to a certain set of officers is a Catholic evolution, and did not exist in the apostolic age. In the fresh life of the Spirit in that early time any Christian male believer who for the occasion represented the congregation could perform baptism. The reason Paul was glad that he did not baptize the Corinthians was twofold. First, his special divine calling was preaching, and, second, there was the less excuse for any set in Corinth to gather around him as their leader, and use his name as their shibboleth. (7) The Trinitarian baptismal sentence in Matt. 28. 19, is the less doubtful when we remember that the Trinitarian conception is not only woven into the whole apostolic proclamation (see among other passages 1 Cor. 12. 4-6; 2 Cor. 13. 13; Rom. 15. 16, 30; Eph. 2. 19-22; 5. 19f.; 1 Pet. 1. 2; 2. 5; 4. 13f.; Heb. 10. 29-31; Rev. 1. 4f.), but is involved in the idea of Christian baptism itself. The work of the Father is immediately related to that of the Son, and the gift of the Holy Spirit is often associated with baptism in the Acts. The Trinitarian sentence, then, in the great commission need cause no surprise. For these and other reasons I am unable to follow Harnack, McGiffert, Feine, B. Weiss, and others (not all of whom are of the "advanced" school) in throwing out Matt. 28. 19. To us the great commission comes with its twofold work—the one spiritual and intellectual, making disciples, the other sacramental, as sealing and publicly proclaiming that discipleship by a beautiful symbolic act of confession. The spiritual necessarily comes before the other, and prepares the way for it. After both comes the lifelong work of instruction (verse 20).

Following the infant church now into the Acts, we find baptism taken for granted as the rite of admission into Christianity. To the inquirers on the day of Pentecost Peter says: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of

the Holy Spirit" (2. 38). Here the repentance (which includes faith) is placed first, the baptism following "unto the remission of your sins," which does not mean in order to receive the remission, but to set it forth by a solemn public act of discipleship, after all of which they would receive the special bestowal of the Holy Spirit. It was the function of baptism to publicly declare a remission that had already taken place on repentance, and so it is called "unto the remission." The next case of which we have any information (except the mere mention of baptism) is Philip and the eunuch, where after hearing Christ preached from Isa. 53, the eunuch, whose heart had turned to the Redeemer, said, "Behold, here is water; what doth hinder me to be baptized?" Then Philip baptized him—doubtless in the running water of some southern stream. This brief narrative, where newly awakened faith in the Messiah is, of course, taken for granted, seemed too fragmentary to some early Christian scribe, who thought that the eunuch's confession of faith had been omitted. He therefore inserted these words: "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." While this addition is an interesting proof that in the early church none was baptized who had not faith and was not, therefore, already saved, the insertion of the words was unnecessary, because Philip would not have baptized him at all if he had not received the Lord. See Acts 8. 36-38. The next case of baptism in Acts is that of Paul, to whom in one of the three accounts, Ananias said: "And now why tarriest thou? arise, and be baptized, wash away thy sins, calling on his name" (22. 16). This might be interpreted as though Paul's sins still clung to him, after his conversion, after his prayer, after his divine call as an apostle, after his acceptance of that call, still clung to him awaiting only the baptismal bath to be washed away. But I think that interpretation would be doing violence to Paul's spiritual history. He was already a called and a fundamentally qualified apostle, the forgiveness of his sins having taken place the moment he had yielded to the heavenly vision. What Ananias means is, "Let the reality of God's love to thee in forgiveness be brought home to thee and to others by this public cleansing."

The verbs here are in the middle voice—"Get thyself baptized, and thus appropriate sensibly before the world the blessedness of that secret inner cleansing which thou didst receive the moment thy eye of faith turned in obedient response to the eye of thy Saviour in the heavenly vision." We must not materialize an essentially spiritual religion by taking literally the bold orientalisms of Scripture: "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye shall be clean." "Let thyself be baptized, and wash away thy sins." These bold figures of the East must not tempt us to externalize and mechanicalize the Christian religion after a Catholic fashion. The rhetoric must be interpreted by spiritual principles laid down in a thousand passages of which this, perhaps, is the essence—that the regenerate life is born by faith, is illuminated by hope, and is perfected by love; this we must do, and not interpret the clear shining fundamentals by the tropes. While Peter was speaking to Cornelius and other Gentiles the Holy Spirit fell on them with power. But this inner cleansing and illumination needed an outward embodiment and witness, so that the new converts might mark by a public act of tremendous physical significance their break with the old life. Therefore Peter said: "Can any man forbid the water, that these [Gentiles] should not be baptized, who have received the Holy Spirit as well as we [Jews]?" (Acts 10. 47.) Then he turned them over to some of the believers to baptize them. There is nothing to remark about the baptism of Lydia and the jailer except that they heard the word, believed, and were immediately baptized (16. 14, 15, 31-33). The same with Crispus and the Corinthians, of whom it is said: "Many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized" (18. 8). An interesting case is that of the twelve disciples of John the Baptist at Ephesus, who knew nothing of the Holy Spirit. Paul instructed them, directed their faith to Jesus, who was to send down the Spirit, had them rebaptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and laid his hands upon them in a prayer of blessing. By that time their faith had become directed to this one thing of a special outpouring of the Spirit to equip them for service in that wicked pagan city. Their

faith claimed the promise, the Spirit came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied (19. 1-7). Paul's hands had nothing to do with this outpouring, except that his prayer and personal touch so strengthened their faith that that faith opened their hearts to the baptism divine.

Entering now the rich pastures of Paul's epistles, we find no reference whatever to baptism in the two epistles to the Thessalonians, though there is much about his gospel. In Galatians there is only one reference to our subject, but that is an interesting and important one. He says that the "law is become our tutor to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But now that faith is come, we are no longer under a tutor. For ye are all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek," etc. (3. 24-28). The thought is: (1) Ye have faith, and are therefore the sons of God in Christ. (2) Ye were baptized into Christ, into his name, into his ownership, so that now ye officially and publicly belong to him. (3) Ye thus put on Christ, or clothed yourself with him. As the water closed you around and for the moment clothed you, so by this dedication of yourselves to him ye clothed yourselves with Christ. In the mind of the apostle baptism is the sign or sacrament of identification with Christ of a most intimate and precious kind. But, as Meyer says, it "necessarily presupposes repentance and faith" (see on Gal. 3. 27), which alone bring the new life in Christ (Gal. 2. 16-20; 3. 2, 5, 8, 11, 14, 26).

In First Corinthians it is, as everywhere with Paul, the "foolishness of the thing preached by which God saves them that believe" (1. 21), the gospel, and not baptism, which has the power of the new birth (4. 15). Baptism was performed as a matter of course, though it was a rite in the performance of which Paul did not concern himself (1. 14-17). In fact, the use of the middle voice might lead us to think, perhaps, that in some of the first baptisms the part of the administrator was not a great one, but that the candidate baptized himself, as in the proselyte baptisms, under the direction and at the word of the officiating brother. If

so, it would be parallel to marriage, in which essentially and legally the two parties marry themselves, the legal attitude of the administrator in the mind of both church and state being simply that of a declarer and witness. This brings us to 6. 11, where Paul, after speaking of the wicked men of Corinth, says: "Such were some of you: but ye washed yourselves, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God." I have no doubt that "washed" means "baptized," but Paul is not speaking chronologically as though the washing preceded the justification, but rhetorically, summing up in a magnificent sentence the great moments of their salvation, which moments were brought home to the consciousness of the believer in his baptismal bath. And here I would like to say that in the early church baptism had a tremendous religious significance that later Christianity could and can know nothing of. It was a wrench and break from paganism on the part of the new convert, a public challenge to all his former associates, a dramatic act of renunciation of the devil, of his former religion, of his former sins, a confession of Christ before his world, a symbolical burial of his old life in the baptismal waters, a reception into a new brotherhood; and all this was such a superb act and venture of faith that it is no wonder that it sometimes put the climax on his conversion and regeneration, so that the Spirit came down and baptized him in that supreme confession. This explains both psychologically and religiously why the baptism of the Spirit is sometimes associated with baptism in the New Testament. The only analogy the modern world offers is baptism in heathen lands, where it still has to a large degree the same office, the same profound meaning, the same effects. The words of chapter twelve, verse thirteen ("for in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body"), may refer to the baptism of the Spirit, or it may refer to ordinary baptism as the sacrament used by God to show forth the unity of the church—that one baptism by which Jew and Greek, bond and free, are dedicated to Christ, their one Lord. (I pass over 15. 29—baptism for the dead—as it throws no light on Paul's own doctrine of baptism.) Second Corinthians contains no references to baptism.

The passage 1. 22, about God sealing us does not refer to baptism, which is never represented in the New Testament as a seal. Baptism is, of course, a seal, but the use of the word "seal" to designate it belongs to the last half of the second century or later, and was, perhaps, suggested by the Greek mysteries.

In Romans there is only one reference to baptism—*unum sed leonem.* Everywhere faith is the open sesame to all the treasures of the gospel of grace. This one great passage is 6. 1-4: "What shall we say then? Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound? God forbid. We who died to sin, how shall we any longer live therein? Or are ye ignorant that all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death? We were buried therefore with him through baptism into death: that like as Christ was raised from the dead through the glory of the Father, so we also might walk in newness of life." This is one of those great passages of Paul that peal through the soul like the bells of eternity, or, changing the figure, it is one of those which divide the very marrow of the spirit and challenge our secret thoughts as before the judgment seat of Christ. I must turn the exegesis of it over to our president, who has dwelt in the house of Paul for so many years, and knows him as one knows a loved and intimate friend. Suffice it to say that Paul imports here a new idea about baptism, namely, the idea of being baptized into Christ's death, and in his wonderfully vivid, rapid, and realistic way he follows the thought up as representing an actual baptism into death, a self-dedication to death of the old man in the baptismal burial, and to an emergence into newness of life in communion with the risen Christ. German exegetes are inclined to interpret the apostle as teaching that baptism actually brings union of life with Christ; but if you will carefully note the language you will see that Paul speaks nothing of any change in the soul effected by baptism, but only a new reference, a new dedication. We were buried that we might walk in newness of life; the walking is an active thing, something that we do ourselves, to which the burial calls and dedicates us, but the power to which comes not from the baptismal burial, but from the peace and power of faith (5. 1, 2). And remember this, brethren of Drew, ye were baptized into the death

and resurrection of Christ to the intent that ye might walk in newness of life. If, therefore, ye allow yourselves any known sin, and do not constantly strive for that perfection unto which ye are called, ye belie your baptism, and in so far Christ to whose possession it officially and publicly transfers you. The same thought of burial in connection with baptism occurs in Col. 2. 12. And here my point made a moment ago that baptism does not actually effect our newness of life with Christ but only represents it and dedicates us to it is borne out by the statement of Paul, "buried with him in baptism wherein we were also raised with him through faith in the power of God." In Eph. 4. 5, we have the "one baptism" spoken of, which helped to make the unity of the church. In 5. 26, we have another tremendous passage of Paul, where he speaks of Christ having loved the church and given himself for it, "having cleansed it by the washing of water with [or in] the word, that he might present the church to himself a glorious church," etc. The "in [or with] the word" refers to the "word of the gospel," or the "word preached," or the "word of faith" (Rom. 10. 8, 17; Eph. 6. 17; Heb. 6. 5; 1 Pet. 1. 15), and the meaning is that by this word through faith the inner cleansing of believers who form the church takes place, sealed, set forth, and visibly brought home by the baptismal washing.

I now leave this little Scripture study to find out the spiritual message of baptism. The other books of the New Testament either do not mention baptism at all, or, if they do, add nothing new to what we have found. What, then, have we found?

1. Baptism is a witness to Christian unity, both our union with Christ and with his followers, and is, therefore, the appropriate rite of admission into his church.

2. It sets forth our union with the death and resurrection of Christ.[1]

3. It signifies an identification with Christ, so that all arbitrary distinctions disappear, and our relation with Christ only remains.

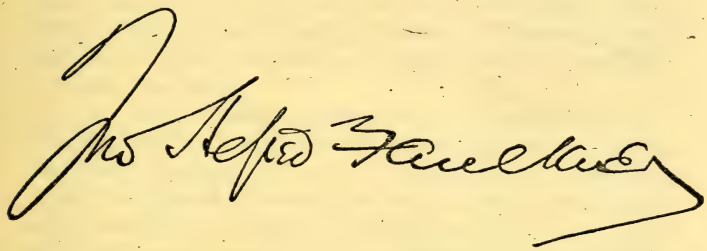
[1]No one mode is definitely taught as an indispensable part of the message in the New Testament, nor could be consistently with a religion of the Spirit. Any mode which sets forth the symbolism is open for use. Even the symbol of burial may very well be carried out by pouring, the method used in our earth burials.

4. It sets forth in a vivid and dramatic way the cleansing of our hearts through faith by the Holy Spirit.

This is the message of baptism, according to our New Testament sources. Baptism, therefore, is a great and beautiful sacrament, full of precious spiritual meanings handed down to us by Christ and the apostles. Our Quaker friends have lost much in discontinuing it. Though it is possible to have the realities for which it stands without it itself, the danger is that when once we have abandoned the form, the testimony, the outer seal, we shall lose our grip on the inner grace, the inner glory, the divine truth and blessing. Both must be kept.

Dear brethren of Drew Theological Seminary, when you go out into the ministry you will be met by two temptations, subtle, engrossing, captivating, like seducing angels of light. One will be the temptation to a false monism—there is a true monism—the temptation to resolve all things into God, so that the distinction between natural and supernatural fades away, between the miraculous and the nonmiraculous, between God and the world, between right and wrong. In that dissolving view there pass away also the divinity of Christ, the incarnation, the fact of sin, the atonement, the necessity of the new birth, and the distinction between saint and sinner. That I call the monistic temptation. Before it Christianity itself disappears to return as only one more religion, the best, perhaps, but only one among many. Before that temptation hundreds of ministers in our Protestant churches have stood entranced, like a child before a serpent's jeweled eye. The other temptation I call—for want of a better word—the Catholic or magical or sacramental, that is, that spiritual grace and life are conveyed to us in or through material channels, the idea which lies back of all High Church theories of the sacraments. This idea Catholicism gave to us, and paganism gave to Catholicism. While monism destroys Christianity by evaporation, this materialistic sacramentalism destroys it by perversion or inversion. Not on Gerizim or at Jerusalem, but men shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth. Only by the spirit are spiritual things discerned and appropriated. The sacraments are vastly precious to us because of their challenge through the eye, through the ear,

through the senses, to the soul, to the spiritual faculties. They convey no grace, but they proclaim grace, they testify of Christ, they set forth, they seal some of the most precious truths of Christianity and some of its inestimable facts; but that grace, those blessings, those truths, are taken hold of, are appropriated, by the spirit only, through faith, and faith alone. I appeal to you to dedicate yourselves to a lifelong battle against those mortal foes of the Christian religion, a false rationalism and a magical, spurious sacramentalism.



Art. II.—THE BISHOP A MEMBER IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE—A Study

The object of this paper is to point out the relations originally established for the bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and to compare them with some views of the present day respecting those relations. Throughout this comparison episcopacy will be had in mind as a differentiated system of ecclesiastical government whose chief function is *episcopacy,* the impersonal factor of which is the bishop-*office,* and the personal factor the bishop-*officer;* and that each of these is inherent and organic, and an inseparable necessity of the system.

The policy of self-government, by the "Independent" and "Episcopal Church" into which the United Societies in America were finally organized, had its initial suggestion in the transactions printed in "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Preachers in Connection with Rev. John Wesley, in Kent County, April 28, 1782," and at a later meeting "at Ellis's Preaching House in Sussex County, Virginia, in May, 1782," as follows:

> Ques. 12. Ought not Brother Asbury to act as General Assistant in America?
>
> Ans. He ought: first, on account of his age; second, because originally appointed by Mr. Wesley; third, being joined with Messrs. Rankin and Shadford by express orders from Mr. Wesley.

As appears in this record, this action refers to Mr. Asbury not as "Assistant," but as "*General* Assistant," and was confirmed "at Ellis's Preaching House" by the final action for that year, which is as follows:

> Ques. Do the brethren in conference unanimously choose Brother Asbury to act according to Mr. Wesley's original appointment, and to preside over the American Conferences and the whole work?
>
> Ans. Yes.

Mr. Wesley, having authority over "the Societies" both in England and in America, had previously appointed Mr. Rankin, Mr. Shadford, and Mr. Asbury as his assistants in America; the

term of the first two having expired, they returned to England, and Mr. Asbury, who had remained, then became the only assistant in America, and continued to act in that relation until 1784, when, having been appointed by Mr. Wesley to be "Joint Superintendent with Dr. Coke over our brethren in America," he was elected and ordained a bishop in the church into which the societies were organized in 1784. While the action by the brethren in 1782 was deliberate and unanimous, it is not to be understood as in any sense *necessary to confirm* Mr. Wesley's appointment of Mr. Asbury to the office and work for which he had originally designated him, for as yet Mr. Wesley had full authority over the societies, and "the Conference" as a corporate and authoritative body had as yet no existence. The elective method in our system of episcopacy was perhaps foreshadowed by Mr. Asbury's election at Ellis's preaching place, and took permanent form when later Mr. Asbury resolutely declined to be ordained to the office and work of a bishop in "the Methodist Episcopal Church in America" until after he had been chosen for that work by the brethren present. This election was unanimous, as were those of 1782, and was no doubt intended to secure, as it *did* secure, the approval of the entire ministry of the church for Mr. Asbury's previous appointment and administration as "Assistant" and as "*General* Assistant," and also their moral support for him as joint superintendent with Dr. Coke. Neither the *appointment,* however, by Mr. Wesley, nor the *election* by the brethren, made Mr. Asbury a bishop. He became a bishop only when, after having been elected and ordained first a deacon and then an elder, he was finally elected a bishop, and was ordained according to the duly administered forms of ordination prescribed for that order in the Liturgy. These forms were compiled from the English Prayer Book, by Mr. Wesley, who had sent them over by Dr. Coke, by whom they were presented at the "Christmas Conference" in 1784, and, after being fully considered in connection with "the Bristol letter," they were adopted by the brethren then assembled. The required authority and "letters for the Episcopal Office" and the "letters of Episcopal Orders" delivered to Thomas Coke, and the presbyterial to Richard Whatcoat and

Thomas Vasey, whom Mr. Wesley—assisted by Mr. Creighton and other presbyters of the Church of England—had ordained respectively as "Superintendent" and as "Presbyters" for America, were no doubt presented, when these brethren, in their official capacity, appeared at the Christmas Conference and took part in the organization of "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The most authentic statement of these transactions is set forth in the Bristol letter and in the official interpretations of them in the Disciplines of 1787 and 1789, each of which appears in a later page of this paper. "The Bristol letter" is a marvel of historical condensation, and as it lies at the very foundation of our entire ecclesiastical system and is, perhaps, the most notable document in our ecclesiastical literature, is here given as it appears in "Minutes of some Conversations between the Ministers and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church at a General Conference Held in Baltimore, January, 1785." Mr. Asbury called the preachers—yet unordained men and not ministers in a church—together at Baltimore to take final action with respect to this letter, and to consider the organization of the societies into a church, which event occurred at the "Christmas Conference" immediately after, the "Minutes" of which seem not to have been printed and published until the month of January, 1785. They are as follows:

As it was unanimously agreed at this Conference that circumstances made it expedient for us to become a separate body, under the denomination of the *Methodist Episcopal Church*, it is necessary that we should here assign some reasons for so doing. The following extract of a letter from Rev. Mr. John Wesley will afford as good an explanation as can be given on the subject:

"BRISTOL, September 10, 1784.

"To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America.

"1. By a very uncommon train of providences, many of the provinces of North America are totally disjoined from the British Empire, and erected into Independent States. The English government has no authority over them either civil or ecclesiastical, any more than over the States of Holland. A civil authority is exercised over them, partly by the Congress, partly by the State Assemblies. But no one either exercises or claims any ecclesiastical authority at all. In this peculiar situation some thousands of the inhabitants of these States desire my advice; and in compliance with their desire, I have drawn up a little sketch.

"2. Lord King's account of the primitive Church convinced me many years ago that Bishops and Presbyters are of the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain. For many years I have been importuned from time to time to exercise this right, by ordaining part of our traveling preachers. But I have still refused, not only for peace's sake; but because I was determined as little as possible to violate the established order of the national Church to which I belonged.

"3. But the case is widely different between England and North America. Here there are Bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, and but few parish ministers. So that for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper. Here, therefore, my scruples are at an end; and I conceive myself at full liberty, as I violate no order and invade no man's right by appointing and sending laborers into the harvest.

"4. I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury, to be joint Superintendents, over our brethren in North America. As also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey, to act as Elders among them, by baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper.

"5. If any one will point out a more rational and scriptural way of feeding and guiding these poor sheep in the wilderness, I will gladly embrace it. At present I cannot see any better method than that I have taken.

"6. It has indeed been proposed, to desire the English Bishops to ordain part of our preachers for America. But to this I object. (1) I desired the Bishop of London to ordain one only; but could not prevail. (2.) If they consented, we know the slowness of their proceedings; but the matter admits of no delay. (3.) If they would ordain them now, they would likewise expect to govern them. And how grievously would this entangle us? (4.) As our American brethren are now totally disentangled from the State, and from the English hierarchy, we dare not entangle them again, either with the one or the other. They are now at full liberty simply to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free. JOHN WESLEY."

The action which followed the consideration of this letter is the first in our ecclesiastical history having the dignity of a constitution and the authority of organic law. It bears every evidence of deliberation and emphasizes the advent of "*The Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States*" and the disappearance of "*The United Societies in America.*" Its brevity and comprehensiveness are noteworthy, and as follows:

Ques. 3. As the Ecclesiastical as well as Civil affairs of these United States have passed through a very considerable change by the Revolution, what plan of Church Government shall we hereafter pursue?

Ans. We will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Superintendents, Elders, Deacons, and Helpers, according to the Forms of Ordination annexed to our Liturgy, and the Form of Discipline set forth in these Minutes.

This action formally organized "The United Societies in America" into "The Methodist Episcopal Church in America" under a definitely differentiated ecclesiastical system which was distinctly described as *episcopal,* and placed this church "under the direction of" an integral body of ministry composed of three distinct classes or orders which were enumerated as "Superintendents, Elders, and Deacons." Each of these orders was constituted according to certain "forms of Ordination annexed to our Liturgy," which forms, duly administered, authorized and intrusted them to administer the rites and functions which were confided to this ministry, and to the several departments or orders of which it was composed, according to "the form of Discipline set forth in" certain "Minutes." The relations of this body of ministry as a whole and those of each of its several orders named, to the church and to the respective functions committed to it and to each of them, is thereby established, and is therefore fundamental and organic. Neither the body as a whole, nor either of its orders, nor the functions intrusted to it, or to either of them, can be otherwise administered, or increased, or diminished, except by authority equal with that which fixed them. The election and ordination of the members of the constituent orders of the ministry named in the act, and the election and ordination of Mr. Asbury as "Superintendent" by the three presbyters, Dr. Coke, Mr. Whatcoat, and Mr. Vasey, whom Mr. Wesley had authorized and whom "the brethren" had approved and received—and assisted also by Mr. Otterbine, at Mr. Asbury's request—completed the organization of the "Episcopal Church" described in and established by this constituting act.

The following important *interpretation* and *declaration* respecting the Bristol letter and this act appears in the Minutes of 1785:

Therefore at this Conference we formed ourselves into an Independent Church, and following the counsel of Mr. John Wesley, who recommended the Episcopal mode of Church Government, we thought it best to become

an Episcopal Church, making the Episcopal office elective, and the elected Superintendent, or Bishop, amenable to the *body of ministers and preachers.*

The deliberation, dignity, and congruity of this entire action and of this declaration are noteworthy. The bishop is carefully made both "elective" and "amenable"—but not amenable to Mr. Wesley nor to Dr. Coke—but distinctly declared to be "elective" *by,* and "amenable" *to,* that body of ministry which was constituted, ordained, and authorized to have the sole direction of the newly organized church by the Constitution just adopted. The following significant explanatory note and definition appears at the close of the Minutes:

As the translators of our version of the Bible have used the English word "Bishop" instead of "Superintendent," it has been thought by us that it would appear more scriptural to adopt their term "Bishop."

Within three years after this the word "superintendent" disappears from the Minutes and the term "bishop" thereafter takes its place in the Discipline.

The first separately printed edition of the Discipline (1787) gives the following condensed statement of these events, the distinction then made between the Anglican and Romish Churches, the system of ecclesiastical government under which those Episcopal Churches were governed and that of the Episcopal Church which had just been established (1784), and is well worth the careful study of every student who wishes to know the facts connected with the organization of his church as stated by "the fathers":

SECTION III

On the Nature and Constitution of our Church

We are thoroughly convinced that the Church of England, to which we have been united, is deficient in several of the most important parts of Christian Discipline, and that (a few ministers and members excepted) it has lost the Life and Power of Religion. We are not ignorant of the spirit and designs it has ever discovered in Europe, of rising to preeminence and worldly dignities by virtue of a National Establishment, and by the most servile devotion to the will of temporal governors; and we fear the same spirit will lead the same Church in these United States (though altered in name) to similar designs and attempts if the number and strength of its members will ever afford a probability of success; and

particularly to obtain a National Establishment, which we cordially abhor as the great bane of truth and holiness, the greatest impediment in the world to the progress of vital Christianity.

For these reasons we have thought it our duty to form ourselves into an Independent Church. And as the most excellent mode of Church government, according to our maturest judgment, is that of a Moderate Episcopacy; and as we are persuaded that the uninterrupted succession of Bishops from the Apostles can be proven neither from Scripture nor antiquity, we have, therefore, constituted ourselves into an Episcopal Church, under the direction of Bishops, Elders, Deacons, and Preachers, according to the Forms of Ordination annexed to our Prayer Book, and the Regulations laid down in this Form of Discipline.

Appearing within three years of the events of which it treats, and being made by those who took part in those events, this restatement may well be accepted as representing with reasonable accuracy and intelligence "the doctrine of the Fathers" of 1787 as to matters under review. It serves to reaffirm the action by which the newly organized church was placed "under the direction of" that body of ministry the several constituent orders in which were distinctly enumerated, described, and constituted by the organic act—and *not any longer under the direction of Mr. Wesley, or of Mr. Asbury as his assistant.*

It is further made plain that the episcopacy adopted was *presbyterial,* as was that of the primitive church, and *not prelatical,* as was that of the Church of Rome, in its origin. The ministry was to be *itinerant,* and *not "settled,"* the superintendency was to be *"general"* and *not diocesan,* and the method of operating it was "the form of Discipline" set forth in these Minutes which in 1808 was called "The plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency." The entire system and plan of 1784 was thus reaffirmed by the fathers of 1787, and under this system and plan the bishop was *"elective,"* but not by a papal council, nor by a royal court, nor by any civil authority, nor yet by the decree of any Conference or other corporately organized body. He was to be chosen by a majority of the votes of the members of the body of ordained ministers and preachers of the church of which body he himself was a member, and *because* he was a member of it he was made amenable *to this body* for his administration of the episcopal functions with which he was intrusted by it and for

which reasons he was "received" at Baltimore in 1784, as described by the following taken from the Discipline of 1789:

SECTION IV

On the Constituting of Bishops, and their Duty

Ques. 1. What is the proper origin of the Episcopal authority in our Church?

Ans. In the year 1784, the Rev. John Wesley, who, under God, has been the father of the great revival in religion extending over the earth by the means of the Methodists, determined at the intercession of multitudes of his spiritual children on this continent, to ordain ministers for America, and for this purpose sent over three regularly ordained clergy; but, preferring the Episcopal mode of Church Government to any other, he solemnly set apart by the imposition of his hands and prayer, one of them, viz., Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil Law, late of Jesus College, in the University of Oxford, for the Episcopal Office; and having delivered to him letters of Episcopal Orders, commissioned and directed him to set apart Francis Asbury, then General Assistant of the Methodist Society in America, for the same Episcopal Office—he, the said Francis Asbury, being first ordained Deacon and Elder. In consequence of which, the said Francis Asbury was solemnly set apart for the said Episcopal Office by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the said Thomas Coke, other regularly ordained Ministers assisting in the sacred ceremony; at which time the General Conference held at Baltimore did unanimously receive the said Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury as their Bishops, being fully satisfied of the validity of their Episcopal ordination.

When the Constitution placed the entire church "under the direction of" the body of ordained ministry which it had constituted, and when it had enumerated and constituted the bishop as a distinct element and member, and made him the representative and administrative member for carrying into effect the functions of the system of episcopacy which it had received and established, it then made the office and work of the bishop fundamental and organic, and made his episcopal relation, authority, and jurisdiction in the church to be coexistent with that of the church itself. The church and its system, the system and its ministry, the ministry and its bishop, were one and inseparable; neither could be without the other. The Constitution made this body of ministry *subordinate to no superior authority. It was sovereign,* and exer-

cised supreme legislative, supreme executive, and supreme judicial powers over the church which had been placed "under the direction of" this ministry by this constitution. For the exercise of these powers, portions of the ministry met at their own convenience and that of the work, as to time and place, in *Annual* Conferences—the sum of the finally concurrent actions during the year being the final and completed action of the entire body. The growth of the church and the increased work soon made this arrangement cumbersome, if not impracticable, and in the year 1792 the entire body of ministry was called together at Baltimore, in what Jesse Lee calls "our first *regular* General Conference," for the broader and more convenient exercise of its powers. The Conference that met at Baltimore in 1784 was called by Mr. Asbury as assistant; but *this* was called by the body of ministry itself, and by authority of this body the composition of this Conference was placed under limitations. It did not consist of *the entire body of ministry,* as before, but only of "all the traveling preachers who are *in full connection at the time of holding the Conference.*" This numerical limitation, being self-imposed, was valid, and in 1800 was extended so as to require also *"four years of travel after being received* into the Conference." These limitations neither impaired the full *powers* confided to the body of ministry by the Constitution of 1784, nor excluded either of its constituent orders from membership in the Conference. They *did* exclude those persons whose incompleted relations to the ministry, and lack of experience, disqualified them for the grave duties and responsibilities involved.

Under this constitution the body of ministry continued to meet until 1812 in successive quadrennial sessions as a body having supreme powers, which had been originally confided to it by the act of 1784—the *local* administration remaining with the ministry, grouped, as heretofore, in Annual Conferences.

We may now consider *the relation of the bishop to the General Conference of* 1792.

The authority and powers conferred in 1784 being conferred on the body of ordained ministry then constituted as a whole, and the bishop having been made a constituent element and in-

tegral part in this body, and the exclusive administrator of episcopal functions in the church, he was thereby made a part of the composition of that Conference, and could neither be excluded from it nor denied the rights of membership in it without impairing the composition of the Conference and the completeness and efficiency of its work. The functions, rights, and relations of the bishop as a constituent element of this body of ministry, of which rights and functions he was made the custodian and administrator, were constitutionally fixed in the bishop, and could be administered only by him, until otherwise directed by equal authority. He was therefore recognized as necessary to and rightfully a member of this body, and took part in its proceedings without challenge. The General Conference, duly constituted, composed, and in the exercise of the powers described, met in regular quadrennial session until 1808, and in that session, before adjourning, after long debate, so modified the Constitution under which it had met as to make the General Conference thereafter a different kind of body from that which it had been before. It now became a *delegated* or *representative* body, under a new Constitution, with a different composition and a different kind of powers. These were not the full and unlimited powers of the former body, but only "full power to make rules and regulations," and even these were put under certain "limitations and restrictions," which were clearly set forth in the Constitution. The General Conference being now no longer numerically composed of the entire body of ministry as before, and now only a representative and no longer an original administrative body, could no longer exercise the same powers as the General Conferences hitherto had done. But the modified Constitution of 1808 was not a Constitution *for a new church*. It was a Constitution only for a new *General Conference*, the character, composition, and administrative powers and authority of which it changed. It did not in any way "change or alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away episcopacy nor destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency" as originally established; nor did it abridge the rights of trial or other rights of ministers and members in the church; on the contrary, all

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these were protected and perpetuated as they had been established in 1784. The church, its system of episcopacy, its plan of itinerant general superintendency and its ministry were not only not disturbed by these limitations and restrictions, but were carefully perpetuated and protected by the terms of an appended proviso clause which clearly left all these as they had been originally intrusted, under the direction of the members of the body of ministry, as provided in the Constitution of 1784. With equal care it adjusted the future relations of the members of the ministry in the respective Annual Conferences so as to secure for them equal representation in future General Conferences. *It made no other change* in the composition of the General Conference *than a reduction* in the number of those who had hitherto come as "the members of the Annual Conferences." The change was *quantitative* and not *qualitative,* and left *undisturbed* the relations which had heretofore existed between the bishop and the General Conference. The delegated General Conference, thus constituted, composed, and empowered, assembled for the first time in 1812, and in the Discipline of that year, in Chapter I, Section I, to which reference may easily be made, is given a careful review and restatement of the reasons for organizing the church, the nature of the ecclesiastical system then put in operation, the validity of the ordinations, and the unity of the church, as understood by the delegates and representatives convened at that time.

From this restatement it will appear that the new General Conference fully understood that Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury had been, each and equally, "set apart for the same Episcopal Office" by Mr. Wesley; that "letters of Episcopal Orders" and "letters for the Episcopal Office" had been delivered to them (Discipline of 1789); and that this representative General Conference also was satisfied with these "letters of Episcopal Orders," and with the validity of the "Episcopal Ordinations" to the episcopal office held under the same authority by both Coke and Asbury; and that they were satisfied also with *the kind* of episcopacy and "the plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency," protected by the proviso clause in the new Constitution—and with the church as they had found it. But before

considering this Constitution further it will be well to turn again to the relations which had existed between the bishop and the General Conferences of 1792 to 1808, inclusive, and compare them with the changes made at the end of that time, if any, by this new Constitution.

We have already found that the organic act of 1784 had established an *Episcopal* Church with a *body of ordained ministry* constituted and *composed of three classes* or orders, "according to the forms of ordination" specified in that act, and that each of the classes or orders named therein was made a distinct and constituent part in this integral body of ministry, and that the church was deliberately placed solely "under the direction of" *this ministry* as a body—and not under that of the "General Assistant," or of the "Joint Superintendents," or that of Mr. Wesley, or under that of *the General Conference.* That body had no existence as a body until after the church, our episcopacy, the ministry and "the plan" had been in operation for eight years. We have also seen that the rights then established and the functions then intrusted were confided to the ministry of the ecclesiastical system established at that time, and could never be withdrawn from this ministry, or from either of the constituent orders named in it, except by constitutional process. The action of 1792 fixed the composition of the governing body so that it should consist only of "the *traveling preachers* who shall be *in full connection at the time of holding the Conference,*" rather than of the entire ministry, as before that time. This action was constitutional, and though it reduced the body *numerically,* it excluded neither of the constituent orders of the ministry from membership in that body. The relation of the bishop was still that of a member of the ministry and a member of the General Conference. No form seems to have been provided or specified in the Constitution of 1784 for ordaining the "helpers" into the ministry, and they, therefore, never became either active participants in "the direction of the Church" or members of the General Conference.

Under an episcopal system the function of overseeing is an absolute necessity, and the right to oversee is a right inherent in the system, and, if the system is to be operative, some constituted

and duly authorized functionary must be provided to administer that system. The bishop, who, under our system, is made this functionary, therefore holds an inherent and indefeasible right, not only to membership in the body of ministry of this system but in the Conferences as well, so that the functions committed to him, as the authorized custodian and administrator of the bishop-office, may neither be irresponsibly administered nor neglected on an occasion of such importance to the church as a General Conference. Moreover, the title of the bishop to this membership is a *sort of duality,* the units in which are the title of the elder *before* he is ordained a bishop and that of the bishop *after* he has been ordained to that order—either the one or the other of which he may rightfully claim during the acceptability of his ministerial relations to the church. Under this form of episcopacy, and plan of itinerant general superintendency, the bishop, both as a member of the body of ministry and as the episcopal functionary of the church, had participated without challenge in the transactions of previous General Conferences, not excepting that of 1808. Constitutionally possessed of these rights, and constitutionally made amenable for the administration of the functions intrusted to him, it would seem that neither as bishop nor as elder—and certainly not *as both*—may the bishop be dispossessed of the one or released from the other except by equal constitutional authority and action.

The Journals show that *Dr.* Coke made motions *eight* times in the General Conference of 1800 and *fourteen* times in 1804; that *Mr.* Asbury spoke in his own behalf *once* in 1800, made *four motions* in 1804, and *Bishop* Asbury *four* in 1808, and *one* in 1812, and addressed that Conference *five* times; that *Bishop* Whatcoat made *one* motion in 1804; that *Bishop* McKendree made *one* in 1812. In 1812 *ten motions* were offered by *"The Chair."* So that either as *Dr., Mr., Bishop,* or *The Chair*—and as both—these men had made motions and participated in the business of the General Conference during this entire period in common with other members of these Conferences. And still later than this, "*Bishop* Morris presented petitions" to the General Conference of 1840, and "*Bishop* Andrew" cast the deciding vote, in the case of

a tie vote on the motion for a bishop for Africa, and defeated that proposed legislation. In 1844 *"Bishop"* Soule engaged without challenge in the great debates of the General Conference on the pending questions of that eventful session. According to these records, therefore, for at least sixty years after the organization of the church the bishop as a member of the General Conference seems to have exercised the constitutional rights originally confided to him as a distinct element and integral part in the body of ministry "under the direction of" which the church was placed in 1784; and not a single protest, challenge, or question against the exercise of these episcopal rights is recorded by any of the Conferences from 1784 to 1808, notwithstanding some of the members were those who had been in all these Conferences from the very beginning.

If, now, the system of episcopacy and the "plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency" in operation from 1784 to 1808, together with the constitutional rights, relations, and responsibilities then affixed to them and to each of them, and exercised by them jointly and severally, are what the "limitations and restrictions" of the Constitution of 1808 distinctly forbade the General Conference to "do away" or "destroy" or "alter or change," we may now return to the Constitution of 1808 and inquire *whether,* and *why,* and *how*—if under that Constitution—the relations of the bishop have come to be those of "only the Presiding Officer of the General Conference," rather than those of the bishop in the church, whose constitutional function and right it is "to oversee the spiritual and temporal business of *the church"*—wherever the church has such business.

This cannot have come about under the Constitution of 1808, however, for that Constitution not only made no pretense of changing the existing Constitution of the church, or the system of episcopacy, or "the plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency," but it distinctly forbade that this should ever be done except according to the proviso clause. Whatever belonged to our episcopacy, or to the plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency, under the Constitution of 1784, was left undisturbed by the Constitution of 1808.

What the Constitution of 1808 did was to *change the numerical composition of the General Conference* so that it should consist of *one in every five,* instead of *"the entire body of traveling preachers in full connection at the time of holding the Conference,"* as previously, and also to *change its powers,* which before had been absolute and unlimited. By these changes it transformed that body from the original and independent body it had been up to that time into a *subordinate* and *delegated* body composed of representatives, selected *as such,* and on a basis that would secure *equal representation in the future General Conferences for the members of the ministry in the several Annual Conferences.* The essential and most conspicuous change made is that *the General Conference was now no longer to be a sovereign body.* These changes came about under a motion which was declared to be "a motion *for regulating* and perpetuating the General Conference." Out of this motion, after long debate, finally emerged the Constitution of 1808, which grants only certain specified powers to the General Conference, which action, of itself, withholds supreme powers in all things fundamental, and also, by an added proviso clause, continues the church "under the direction of" the body of ordained ministry, intrusted with it by the Constitution of 1784. So far as relates to this paper, the provisions of this Constitution are as follows:

> The General Conference shall be composed of one member for every five members of each Annual Conference.
>
> One of the General Superintendents shall preside: "The General Conference shall have full powers to make rules and regulations for our Church:" but "Shall not change or alter any *part* or *rule* of *our government,* so as to do away Episcopacy or destroy the plan of our Itinerant General Superintendency."

We may now return to consider what change, if any, is made in the relations of the bishop to this new body by this Constitution. The motion declares the intention to be to *perpetuate* and *regulate the General Conferences.* The Constitution itself seems to assume the continued relations of the bishop to this body, and makes no allusion or mention of either excluding or including him. The bishop had always been and was now a member of the *General Conference,* but had *never* been reckoned a member of the *Annual*

Conference; so that no reference to him would seem necessary, nor would any be made, unless there was the intention to exclude him, or to modify his existing relations. The phrase "Members of the Annual Conferences" contained in the specification could not be made to apply to *him.* Such relations had never before been the basis of his membership, and were not now made so. What the specification excludes—and *all* it excludes—is *a portion of the former numerical composition* of the General Conferences, and this exclusion applies only to the *members from the Annual Conferences;* and the bishop was not now, and never had been, among these. To have excluded, or now to exclude, the bishop would be to invade the constitutionally established composition of the Conference and the long-recognized rights of the bishop as the administrator of our system of episcopacy, and if done at all, it must be done by open amendment and unmistakable change—and of this there is no recorded evidence. Having participated with other members of the body in the proceedings of the several General Conferences prior to and including this session (1808), the bishop was no doubt well informed of its intention and purposes at the time at which this Constitution was made, and it is hardly probable that he would have taken part in excluding himself, or have permitted such a proceeding without protest—and of this we have no record. The fact that he was distinctly enumerated as an element and included as a member of the body of ministry constituted in 1784, and had participated in common with, and as part of, that body of ministry in the direction of the church for twenty-five years previously, not only gave him warrantable claim to the right, but made it his duty to continue to participate, not only in the business of the General Conference of 1808 but in that of every other General Conference, until constitutionally excluded beyond all question—and the bishop had exercised this right. Not to have done so would seem a strange and unusual attitude for a bishop in an *Episcopal Church.*

But it seems that after the lapse of nearly forty years under this plan in our superintendency a contention was developed in the debates of 1844, affirming that the Constitution of 1808 con-

tinued the same powers and authority to the delegated General Conference then constituted—*excepting only those which were plainly enumerated and specified* in the "limitations and restrictions"—in fact, that all powers *not specifically excluded were included*, that this new and representative body was sovereign, and might rightfully exercise supreme legislative, supreme executive, and supreme judicial powers over all matters, except such as were specified and excluded by the "limitations and restrictions" in its Constitution. The fundamental defect in this theory is that if this body was representative, it *was subordinate*, and if *subordinate, it could not be sovereign*. This contention, advanced by Dr. Hamline, seemed so plausible and so well suited to carry out the purposes of the majority on the pending question, and thus to restrain the exercise of episcopal functions by Bishop Andrew, that it then prevailed, and, to a large extent, has prevailed since that time. Without stopping here to controvert this contention, it must be conceded that, even though approved by the General Conference, it is, at best, *only an interpretation*, and lacks the authority and dignity usual in and essential to a constitutional declaration, and that it is embarrassed with the fundamental defect pointed out. Whatever may be the merit of this contention, it will not be herein overlooked that the questions of *the composition* and *the powers* of the delegated General Conference are equally fundamental questions, and that the principle on which this contention is based not only involves *the powers*, but *the composition* of the General Conference equally. The composition of preceding General Conferences had included almost the entire body of ordained ministry constituted in 1784, and of this body—though not a member of the Annual Conference—the bishop had been recognized as a distinct and specified element and part, and as such had been conceded and had exercised the rights of membership in these Conferences from the beginning without question. But since, and by virtue of this contention, these rights have been denied and withheld.

In its specification as to composition the Constitution of 1808 makes no declaration either that the bishop is included in or excluded from the membership which he then held in *that* General

Conference, and had held in all those preceding. If he was not *included* by this specification, neither was he *excluded* by it. His right to membership, having been definitely recognized as being constitutionally fixed, if changed at all, must now be constitutionally changed and as distinctly fixed as it had been before. But the specification does not make this, or any, change. What it was *intended* to do, and what it *did* do, was to exclude from the composition of the delegated General Conference *a portion* of those who, as the members of the Annual Conferences, had formerly belonged to the General Conference, and *that four* out of every five of "the members of the Annual Conferences," who had formerly come, now failed to come because they had not been elected as the delegates and representatives of their brother ministers; *and this is all it does exclude.* No other change in the former composition than this numerical change is proposed, and no other change is made. The Constitution gives the right of representation to the ministry as a body, and with it gives to the minister who is chosen as a representative the right to represent his brethren. It gives no right of representation *to the Conference* as a body. The right of the member to represent, and the right of the members of the Annual Conferences to be represented, on the basis of representation proposed, are derived from the amended sections of this Constitution, and on or by virtue of these sections such members are made members of the delegated General Conference. The rights of the bishop to membership are inherent and constitutional rights, and were imbedded in the Constitution of the church (1784), and these remained unchanged by the provisions of the Constitution of the General Conferences of either 1792, 1800, or 1808. The rights of the bishop-*office* are organic and remain as originally fixed. The bishop-*officer* only—not the bishop-*office*—was made amenable to the General Conference, and he only for his administration of that office, but the office itself and its functions are derived from the organic law of the church. It is plain that the phrase "members of the Annual Conference" in the specification can make no allusion to the bishop, and that the Constitution of 1808 does not "change nor alter any part or rule of our government so as to do away Episcopacy nor destroy the plan of

our Itinerant General Superintendency." Episcopacy lost nothing in 1808 which belonged to it in 1784, and all who accept the contention of 1844—namely, that all that which is not plainly excluded is included by the Constitution of 1808—must now accept the bishop as a member of the delegated General Conference.

Some of the consequences growing out of this contention, however, are offensive and unwelcome, as, for instance, that the elder who is chosen from among the members of an Annual Conference, and later is ordained a bishop, seems to lose his relations to and membership in the Annual Conference and in the Quarterly Conference, while he acquires none in the General Conference and none in the church. Whether this appears to be just the kind of relation which an elder should acquire, who has become, and *because* he has now become, the constitutional administrator of the ordinations necessary to this plan of our itinerant general superintendency, and to our system of episcopacy—let those who accept the Hamline contention answer. And if the election and ordination of an elder to "the office and work of a bishop" makes of such an elder "*only an officer of the General Conference,*" and in any way so transforms his ministerial character and changes his relations as to deprive him of membership, and the privileges of a member of the General Conference, why is not every other elder who is overtaken by an election to other "General Conference office" thereby reduced to the same relations and deprived of the same privileges and membership? Equity seems to have suffered some strange displacement of the center of gravity by this unique and incongruous discrimination.

Robert J. Miller

Art. III.—THE CIVIC VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

What the Old Testament has been in the shaping and the preservation of a peculiar and virile race, in the history of Christian worship, in the enrichment of the literature of the nations, and in the inspiration and comfort of innumerable devout souls need not be rehearsed. We are now to note that its service is not, and has not been, confined to the worship and the poetry of the saints and the sayers, but has been notable in the legislation of states and in the social ideals and social forces of two millenniums. Gibbon says that during the later centuries of the Roman empire "the laws of Moses were received as the divine original of justice," and that the example of the same laws inspired Roman legislators to stern treatment of the bestial vices which threatened the life of society. George Adam Smith has pointed out the influence of the Old Testament upon some of the leading reformers and important movements of the Christian centuries. "Chrysostom scourged the vices and consoled the sufferings of Antioch with the words of Isaiah to Jerusalem." Savonarola found the inspiration and the material for his message in Micah and the other prophets, dealing in unsparing fashion with the politics of his day and the needs of Florence. Dr. Smith finds many a point of contact between Isaiah and Cromwell and Mazzini, and Dr. Cheyne compares Jeremiah to Milton and Savonarola, all ardent patriots and brave citizens. "From the time of the Reformation to our own there has never been a city of Protestant Europe which has been stirred to higher ideals of justice and purity without the rewaking of those ancient voices which declared to Jacob his sin and to Israel his transgression."

The Old Testament had a powerful influence too upon various Christian treatises, political or semipolitical in aim, upon Augustine and Dante and Knox and Milton in their reasonings on the nature of the state. And it is striking that in the controversies in the seventeenth century as to the divine right of kings versus the rights of the people the Old Testament was always the

arsenal for the defenders of democracy, so that it is fair to conclude that "much of the liberty which that period secured for us is due to the Old Testament."

In thinking of the value to citizens of these old Scriptures let us emphasize some things fundamental to a nation's life. And, first, *social righteousness*, and the duty of citizens to demand it. The prophets of Israel were intense patriots. They were firm believers in the superiority of their own nation. Sometimes they were passionately sure of the inviolability of its capital, sometimes of its ultimate supremacy, always of the high place it had in the regard of God and of its high destiny under his plan. But all this passionate devotion did not make them blind. Even in those crises when external danger threatened, the prophets were less concerned about foes without than foes within. Social crimes were national dangers more alarming than Assyrian or Babylonian. Said Amos: "I know how manifold are your transgressions, and how mighty are your sins—ye that afflict the just, that take a bribe, and that turn aside the needy in the gate from their right." And Micah cried: "Hear this, I pray you, . . . ye rulers of the house of Israel, that abhor justice, and pervert all equity. They build up Zion with blood, and Jerusalem with iniquity. . . . Therefore shall Zion for your sake be plowed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become heaps." And Isaiah mourned, "Ah sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evildoers, children that deal corruptly! . . . Why will ye be still stricken, that ye revolt more and more? . . . your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; . . . Except Jehovah of hosts had left unto us a very small remnant, we should have been as Sodom, we should have been like unto Gomorrah." The wickedness was general, neither obscure nor mild, but blatant and extreme. Rural districts were cursed by it and the capital was its center and heart. A recent writer estimates the Old Testament as the tragedy of the Fall of Jerusalem and the lamentations of Jeremiah over that final catastrophe as its sharpest cry of anguish. But Jerusalem's doom, of which Nebuchadnezzar was the minister, was guaranteed by the vices of its rulers, the perfidy of its priests, the corruption of its people. "How is the faithful city become a harlot! she that

was full of justice! righteousness lodged in her, but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves." Now as then, social sins are our peril, and now as then there is a concentration of the forces of evil in the city. That is not the whole of the truth concerning it. It is the nerve center as well as the storm center of our civilization. It is a temple into which the glory and honor of the nations come, as well as a sewer into which the garbage flows. Its influence has always been important; it is now becoming controlling. It is civilization's Malakoff, to be captured for God before the kingdom of heaven can have even a chance for ultimate supremacy on earth. And its threatening evils need to be studied with the eyes of the old prophets. It is not personal comfort but national welfare we guard when we fight for decent tenements, and a sacredly guarded treasury, and police officials who shall enforce the law and earn their salaries, and a government independent of commercial and partisan interests. Always the study of interior vital conditions is the pressing duty of a patriot. The main business of government is not to prepare for war. The chief dangers are not outside. The entire history of civilization shows the dangers of immorality to nations. "No great nation," says Dr. Chamberlain, "has really been destroyed by attack from without." Not Babylonia, which had prepared for the triumph of Cyrus by its soft luxury and treasonable conspiracies; nor Persia, whose sordid intrigues and royal profligacy gave success to the assault of the Arabs; nor Egypt, who before she was struck by Persian and Roman and Moslem had lost her power to resist; nor Greece, who had succumbed to her own degenerate passions long before her political overthrow; nor Rome, where effeminacy and sensuality and imperial scorn of the people, and popular discontent and wrath, made city and empire an easy mark for Goths and Huns. The dangers are within. That was the mournful experience of Israel and the faithful warning of her brave citizen prophets. And that is the solemn truth about ourselves. A nation's foes are they of her own household. Social impurities and social crimes are the deadliest foes we have.

And, again, citizens need new training in the truth

which has such splendid emphasis in the Old Testament—that *individual righteousness* is the basis of social welfare, and so the secret of national strength. Dr. Davidson said, "The Decalogue is the most wonderful thing in literature, the most superb generalization of the duties of men to God and to each other." And that immortal document, which was the heart of the constitution of the Hebrew state, is drawn in personal terms. Made for the nation, its demands move swift and straight as bullets upon the conscience of the individual. *Thou shalt not* worship false gods, nor trample God's holy day in the mire, nor dishonor parents, nor steal, nor kill, nor commit adultery, nor lie, nor covet. Personal morality is the foundation of the nation, the hope and guarantee of its life. And in the measure that individual consciences heard those orders and obeyed them, in that measure national life was made secure and rich. And that, surely, is valuable for the citizenship of to-day. There could be nothing better for our nation's defense and cleansing than a new study of the old law which is at the root of all our jurisprudence. Let single souls allow no substitute to crowd God from his place of authority, make his day neither grimy with toil nor noisy with sports, but keep it quiet and white for spiritual uses. Let no man kill his brother by inches with oppression, nor steal from him by unfair business methods, nor by gambling or graft—steal neither money nor time nor brains nor conscience—nor lie about him, nor be discontentedly envious of his treasures. If we could have that—a new response to the old law, a new passionate devotion to personal morality, strict, straight, absolute, with no difference of quality between a man's private and public conscience—a lot of our pressing problems would be solved. Conformity to custom—ecclesiastical, commercial, or social—is a miserable makeshift for that. Piety is no substitute for it. "Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: . . . I am weary to bear them. . . . Put away the evil of your doings. . . . Cease to do evil; learn to do well"—so cried Isaiah, the royal prophet. The immorality which crippled the nation could not be atoned for by a lot of religious gymnastics. Wickedness made worship nauseating. Church, as well as state, needs the iron of moral purpose in its blood. It does

to-day. "Our first need," says Professor Peabody, "is not orthodoxy nor ecstasy, but morality."

And a third truth of which the Old Testament is our finest illustration is that *spiritual religion is the real ground of enduring social and moral order.* It is no mere personal treasure, useful to the individual in regulating his tempers and guaranteeing his comfort; it is a national need. Manasseh paganized his people, or tried to; established paganism as the religion of the state, worshiped the stars of heaven, had furnaces in the streets in which people baked cakes as offerings to Astarte, burned incense on the roofs of houses, consecrated the sacred vessels of the temple to Baal, restored human sacrifices, persecuted and terrorized the followers of Jehovah; and as a result licentiousness and immorality unspeakable ran riot, and the nation tottered in mortal weakness and would have reached its political end sooner if the inevitable fate had not been delayed by some measure of reform under Josiah. God is the only source of national prosperity or adversity. He held in leash the nations from whom at last Israel's ruin came. He whistled to them and they sprang to do his bidding. He used them as scourges to flay his people. The law of his rule is the law of righteousness. Those who would get his blessing must not desert his way. To the prophets God was absolute in power because absolute in righteousness—"righteousness wider than the widest world, stronger than the strongest force." The Holy God the real basis of the nation's life—that was the clear perception of the prophets, and is, indeed, the lesson of the entire Old Testament. The history of Israel is written from the religious standpoint and with religious ends in view. We get in it glimpses of military movements, and political life, and social customs, but its main business is to set before us religious crises and tendencies and needs and provisions. And God, who is the explanation of the nation's history, is its political Head, discharging through his agents the functions of civil government. He is profoundly interested in social righteousness. Obedience to him is the guarantee of social order. When his judgments have been inflicted upon his people, with their corrupt judges and cruel nabobs and fawning priests, the social abuses

shall be purged away and the judges be again as aforetime and counselors as at the beginning, and Jerusalem be called "the city of righteousness, the faithful city." This, surely, is a task for citizenship—to make the righteousness of God supreme in courts of justice, and halls of legislation, and methods of trade, that our cities may be cities of righteousness and our land the Holy Land.

Beneath all the acknowledgment of God in the nation's life must be the recognition of God as the inspiration of the character of the individual. The Decalogue was mediated to men through Moses the prophet, and was the gift of the good God. We have teachers who explain that religion is possible without God. He may be useful, but he is optional. Religion is simple morality which needs no trace of theology to make it complete. Duty is a thing without divine meaning. Tolstoy says religion is a man's new relation to the world about him. There isn't any world above him, or, if there is, he is at liberty to ignore it. But Micah reminds us that our moral perceptions are from God. "He hath showed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" We have inscribed that above an alcove in our Congressional Library, which is our national recognition, intentional or otherwise, of the fact that God is the everlasting Source of duty and its only adequate explanation. Our social decencies and social services are his requirements. "To regard all our duties as divine commandments," which is Kant's definition of religion, will put nerve and adamant into a man's conscience.

What are some specific duties of a citizen as suggested by the Old Testament? First, it is clear that a citizen must be *interested in his own day* in order to be valuable to the state. This was the attitude of Israel's great prophets. They were intensely eager for the cure of current sins and the meeting of current needs. The social abuses and individual corruption of former years may be historically interesting, and their study furnish valuable hints, but present-day welfare is to be the purpose of the historical student. And a glimpse into the future may be interesting; a prediction of some new order of the ages, of some new and better social conditions, may be cheering and may

be possible. For so far as prediction is the perception of the relation of principles to events, an outcome of an understanding that righteousness blesses a nation and sin curses it, so far a forecast of national life may be a function of the good citizen. But it is to be undertaken in the interests of the present. Even when forecasting the future the prophet was trying to influence his own day. Prediction was an instrument of reform. He was supremely interested in his own time and its problems. He did not shirk those problems and gather the robes of his safe, useless citizenship about him. While he was looking and longing for an ideal order, with his soul full of that ideal and the great issues connected with it, he found signs of its coming in the events of his day—and he had clear sight of the evils which were current and refused to submit to them. Harmony with things as they were was no part of his policy. So, then, the reason for the prophet's message was in the needs of his day. His inspiration was not speculative but practical. His perception of God's nature and God's will was clear because of his flaming devotion to God and country. He had vision; he was a seer. But the basis of all his vision, religious and political, was native insight and the exercise of it. His faculties were always stretched, and sometimes had periods of intense activity. He was a watchman, a sentinel. His seeing was his habit and his work. Habakkuk said, "I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak with me." It was this attitude of the prophet that helped to loosen the seals of the future. It is a truism now to say that the notable characteristic of the prophet was not vision but passion—moral passion, spiritual passion. And if vision of the future of men and the movements of God blessed his pages, as it did, the vision was related to the passion. It was his own attitude that opened his eyes to the future and loosened his tongue to tell its secrets. If we say that these glimpses of futurity were revelations of God we but alter the form of the statement; for the revelations of God are conditioned by the spiritual attitude of men. Moreover, in this earnestness of soul was the reason for the prophet's authority. He became the messenger of God because his intens-

ity invited and made possible God's use of him. God is not arbitrary, and his choices fall upon those who are fit. Plato said, "No man in his senses attains prophetic truth or inspiration, but receives the inspired word when his intelligence is enthralled by sleep or demented by some distemper." That may explain what a prophet was to an ancient Greek, to whom prophecy involved frenzy, but to an ancient Hebrew a prophet was not one who had taken leave of his senses but one who *had* taken leave of selfish aims. He was a man of God, able to be a messenger because emancipated from self and surrendered to the will divine. And that which constitutes fitness for God's uses gives power over other lives. No intellectual ability could give a prophet weight if he lacked sincerity. It was the unquestioned singleness of the prophet's heart which gave authority to his speech, and made him sometimes the counselor of kings and the confidant of God. This our citizens should be trained in—unselfish interest in their country's needs. And this too: an unsparing denunciation of current sins. No complacency about God's love for the nation blinded the prophets to the nation's departures from his will. They were faithful as censors even at cost of personal popularity. They could even dare to be called traitors, as were Amos and Jeremiah. "The prophets," said John Stuart Mill, "were a power in the nation, often more than a match for kings and priests, and kept up in that little corner of the earth the antagonism of influences which is the only real security for continued progress. Religion, consequently, was not then what it has been in so many other places—a consecration of all that was once established, and a barrier against further improvement." We have to-day, as always, those who would persuade the people that any harsh criticism of great commercial leaders or any disturbance of existing conditions is unpatriotic. Old Jewish patriots did not think so. All movements, political and commercial, must submit to the tests of righteousness. The prominence of an evil did not make it immune from criticism. Nor did the prominence of a sinner, whether ecclesiastical or political, make those patriots timid. They discriminated between apparent and real character. They were constantly calling attention to the presence of sham

religion as a civic danger. There was danger then, as there is now, that men apparently religious shall be taken as models of citizenship. But no sympathy for such apparent religiousness must blind to real character or prevent just punishment on moral crookedness. Nor should high position bring exemption from criticism. There are not two standards of morals—one for the high and one for the low. Only one. "Thou art the man," said Nathan to King David. Elijah prophesied the doom of Ahab the despot because he dared to steal a poor peasant's estate.

We must not argue that this work of measuring the nation's leaders and testing them by eternal standards was reserved for a sacred order in ancient Israel. Those brave critics and reformers, the prophets, were from the body of the citizens. The prophet was a man among men. Dr. Beecher reminds us that his appearance is not accurately reported by the artists any more than are the angels when they are portrayed as feminine in spite of the fact that in the recorded manifestations they are always masculine. The artists sketch the prophet with exceedingly primitive garb and with the marks of a wild and ascetic life. They probably get their ideal from the description of Elijah. But Elijah is not to be regarded as the pattern of the prophets. There is evidence that his uniform was peculiar to himself. In externals the prophet was doubtless like his fellow citizens. And there is no evidence that the prophets belonged to a select order and received ordination to office. God raised them up when occasion required, and the human fitness and readiness of the man were doubtless the conditions he demanded. "As a prophet he was simply a citizen with special work to do." He might be a private or might be an official, either civic or ecclesiastical. Then as now and now as then, "A manly man is the truest channel of communication between man and God." Would God all the Lord's people were prophets! These devoted servants of God, who were jealous of his honor and were keen-eyed sentinels of the nation, became prominent and influential in national affairs. Kings relied upon Isaiah, and even Nebuchadnezzar showed marked courtesy to Jeremiah. And we as citizens might learn the lesson of calling to places of prominence for statesmanlike work, for keen insight

into the meaning of current events, for perception of the laws which control destiny and vision of the sure outcome of human policies and conduct, *men of spotless character, strong brain, and unselfish purpose.* It has been suggested that such men in Israel were drafted for the prophetic ranks, and from the prophetic class came the statesmanship as well as most of the literature, historic and poetic, of the nation. Such a process, with us, would mean freedom from the slavery of party machines.

Once more: We might learn something of a *good citizen's temper* from the brave hopefulness of the patriots of Israel. There is, as Dr. Peabody has pointed out, a contrast between the social teachings of the prophets and those of Jesus—as, indeed, would be expected, since a reformer and a revealer occupy different standpoints. But, nevertheless, while they wrestled with the social agitations and he looked upon such unrest from above, and while they had not his serenity and untroubled consciousness of abundant power, they did have a robust courage, an unfailing optimism. The dross that cheapened and cursed their nation was to be purged away, the old truths would again obtain mastery, the old clean habits would return, a king would "reign in righteousness and princes decree justice," and Israel would be schoolmaster and lawgiver to the nations. An earnest patriot will not have his zeal damaged by a cheery spirit. Earnest criticism has no necessary connection with despairing pessimism. And while those old prophets regarded war as the scourge of God, useful to Israel in the way of discipline, they saw a glad, coming day when war should be no longer necessary, and bathed their prophecies in the golden glow of that day. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The very forces of destruction are to be changed into helpful ministries. Swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. It will be in the line of patriotism to cherish and champion universal peace.

To recognize social crimes as national dangers, individual righteousness as the basis of social welfare, and the rule of God as the real ground of all social and moral order and the secret of a nation's power; to be profoundly, unselfishly interested in

current events, and cultivate a keen discriminating insight into the meaning of daily history and the character of men, and choose as our leaders men of vision and moral passion, and keep sunny when things are dark, and love peace when tumults rage—these are some of the lessons in citizenship brought to us by this wonderful old book. Let these lines of Richard Watson Gilder emphasize these duties for us:

> Do thy part
> Here in the living day, as did the great
> Who made old days immortal! So shall men,
> Gazing back to the far-looming hour,
> Say: "Then the time when men were truly men:
> Though wars grew less, their spirits met the test
> Of new conditions; conquering civic wrong;
> Saving the state anew by virtuous lives;
> Guarding the country's honor as their own,
> And their own as their country's and their sons':
> Defying leaguéd fraud with single truth;
> Not fearing loss; and daring to be pure.
> When error through the land raged like a pest
> They calmed the madness, caught from mind to mind,
> By wisdom drawn from eld and counsel sane;
> And as the martyrs of the ancient world
> Gave Death for man, so nobly gave they Life:
> Those the great days and that the heroic age."

Wallace MacMullen

Art. IV.—THOMAS ARNOLD AT OXFORD: A RETROSPECT

The great man and teacher whose influence is still warm and strong wherever good Englishmen are found was prepared for his later training at the old school of Saint Mary at Winchester. In this matter Thomas Arnold was fortunate. There is no foundation of an educational kind in the English-speaking world which is better rooted in the past than is the nursling of William of Wykeham. This prelate and statesman of the days of Chaucer lived a life so blameless that his enemies could find no fault in him. "As well," remarked a contemporary, "try to find a knot in a rush." The city where he planted his nursling is perhaps better entitled than any other to be called the home city of Englishmen. It was Alfred's city, the sovereign who gave an ideal of complete manhood to his time and to posterity, and who was the first of the Saxon kings to impress his personality on the whole of the island. After Alfred lived the term "Englishman" possessed a new significance. The statesmen and rulers who have held office in England and English-speaking countries since his time, if they discharged their duties well, were simply following in his footsteps. It is difficult to underrate the beneficent influence which Alfred's city of Winchester and, later, its great public school have exercised over the English people. Thomas Arnold was proud of his old school and remained loyal to it. When the time came for Matthew, his gifted son, to prepare for the university, he sent him up to Winchester for several terms. The Oxford College which is in closest connection with Winchester, owing its origin to the same founder, William of Wykeham, is New College. But Thomas Arnold's parents chose Corpus Christi, known familiarly as C. C. C., which was one of the most active of the smaller colleges at this time. The old university on the Isis had begun to awake from the torpor of the eighteenth century, when all enthusiasm was discouraged and "overmuch godliness" was particularly frowned upon. It was in 1766 that six students were actually suspended for engaging in Christian work and holding prayer meetings in the town. But the terrible struggle

of French Revolution times was now calling for every effort on the part of patriotic Englishmen. Rationalism and infidelity had brought forth a harvest of blood, and thinking people had returned to evangelical religion as to a haven of safety. The excesses of the Revolution had proved to Wordsworth, as to many others, that guilt and sin were realities and that reverence and devotion were at the root of all good living, and his poetry received a new strength from this evangelical conviction. His poetry is typical of the national spirit. Patriotism was now linked to the historic Christian faith, purified by the revival of the eighteenth century, and a sternly upright, if sometimes narrow, type of manhood was produced which revived the whole nation. From these evangelical homes came the great men of 1808 and the following years, remarkable for the number of noble spirits they produced. At Corpus the life was quiet and wholesome. The college had been founded by Fox, a bishop of Winchester, in the days of Henry VIII, and had always remained a small college, yet it early secured a name for efficiency and erudition, being jestingly termed a "beehive." The great Reformation names of Jewell, familiar to readers of Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield, and of Richard Hooker, are indissolubly associated with the place. It was at Corpus that Hooker, during a seventeen years' residence, laid up that store of learning and formed that noble style which have helped to make him a prince among theologians. "I passed," he tells us, "from that garden of piety, of pleasure, of peace, and a sweet conversation into the thorny wilderness of a busy world, into the corroding cares that attend a married priest and a country parsonage." The number of undergraduates at Corpus when Arnold went up was less than twenty, but their quality was excellent. He was happy in the companionship of such men as Thomas Keble—brother of the author of the "Christian Year"—who became a Fellow of Oriel the very year of Arnold's admission; of John Taylor Coleridge, who rose to be one of the chief justices of England; and of William Buckland, the eminent geologist, who was at this time a Fellow of the college and under whom Arnold studied. To live in such close intimacy with a man to whom the new vista of the world was opening that was to give a fresh interpretation of God's deal-

ings with the universe was no slight privilege. To Buckland, a thoroughly unconventional and whole-souled man, is due in great measure the wide yet sane natural theology we find outlined in Tennyson's "In Memoriam." Chief Justice Coleridge has left us an account of their life together in the little college to which they were all so warmly attached in after life:

> We were then a small society, the members rather under the usual age [Keble went up at fourteen years and five months, Arnold at fifteen years and eight months] and with more than the ordinary proportion of ability and scholarship; our mode of tuition was, in harmony with these circumstances, not by private lectures, but in classes of such a size as excited emulation and made us careful in the exact and neat rendering of the original, yet not so numerous as to prevent individual attention on the tutor's part, and familiar knowledge of each pupil's turn and talents. . . . One result of all these circumstances was that we lived on the most familiar terms with each other; we might be—indeed, we were—somewhat boyish in manner and in the liberties we took with each other; but our interest in literature, and in all the stirring matters of that time, was not boyish; we debated the classic and romantic questions; we discussed poetry and history, logic and philosophy; or we fought over the Peninsular wars and Continental campaigns with the energy of disputants personally concerned in them. Our habits were inexpensive and temperate; one break-up party was held in the junior common-room at the end of each term, in which we indulged our genius more freely; and our merriment, to say the truth, was somewhat exuberant and noisy; but the authorities wisely forebore too strict an inquiry into this.

A scholar who came to Corpus the year after Arnold left to become a Fellow of Oriel speaks of the harmony that prevailed in the little college, the absence of petty divisions and quarrels, the courteous and helpful ways of the residents. The Fellows showed no supercilliousness, the scholars no bumptiousness. In a letter to his sister Fanny Matthew Arnold gives us a pleasant glimpse of Corpus sixty years later:

> I have been for three nights at Oxford this last week, staying at Corpus in the perfection of comfort. . . . I saw many things I had never seen before: the Corpus plate, which is unique in Oxford, not having been melted down for Charles the First; the library, which is full of treasures; the longer record of papa's admission as a scholar in presence; the pictures given by papa when he left the college—these and a mustard-pot given by Keble are now put aside as curiosities and not brought into use. finally papa's rooms, which had formerly been Bishop Jewell's. The college is a most interesting one; its founder, Bishop Fox, who had ac-

cumulated a large sum to found a convent of monks, was warned by the king's ministers that monks had had their day, and that property left for their benefit would not be safe, so he founded a college for learning instead—at the very beginning of the sixteenth century.

After taking his bachelor's degree Thomas Arnold was proposed for a fellowship at Oriel. Some objections were forthcoming at the appointment of the idealistic young man, whose deeply felt convictions, openly expressed, were mistaken for push and conceit; but fortunately the objections were overruled. The appointment was a distinct honor. Some twenty years before, Oriel College had made the change in its appointment to fellowships which soon placed it in the front rank of university foundations for learning and intellectual efficiency. In other colleges, like Jesus College, for instance, the resort of Welshmen, local limitations were dominant; but at Oriel neither birth, locality, nor, henceforth, junior standing in the college was held to constitute a title to succession or preference. From Corpus Christi College, in 1795, Edward Copleston, one of the most brilliant men of his time, was invited to fill a vacant Oriel fellowship, and he exchanged this for the headship in 1814, the year before Arnold's appointment. Copleston, who became later Bishop of Llandaff, in Wales, the ancient see that succeeded to the earlier Christian Caerleon of Roman times, was at once a man of letters, an athlete, a linguist, and a critic. Having been appointed professor of poetry in the university, he discharged its lecturing duties well, and in a passage-at-arms with Edinburgh Reviewers, in which he came off victorious, he stated in its tersest and most trenchant form the case in favor of a classical education. He was also a capable political economist, versed in the burning questions of the day and consulted by the statesmen then in power. During the time that Copleston and Arnold were at Oriel the men there held their heads above the common herd, as belonging to a place of distinction. Many, indeed most of Copleston's cherished opinions and even prejudices descended to the Arnolds, father and son, and the younger Arnold must be regarded as continuing in the next generation the ideals of this great Oxonian, economic, classical, and critical. When Copleston went to Llandaff, it dawned upon him, as bishop in the principal-

ity, that Welsh literature had been a constant source of light and vigor to English thought and life, and his successor in the professorship of poetry was destined to deliver his most noted university lectures upon this very subject. Matthew had caught his inspiration—had focused his subject—from the early friend of his father.

But there were other notable men at Oriel besides Copleston and Arnold. The dean was Richard Whately, afterward Archbishop of Dublin, who is known in school circles to-day for his rhetoric and logic, a man of tremendous vitality and mental force. His aim as a Noetic—and Oriel at this time was the home of Noetics—was to develop a Christian type of character which had neither vapidity, unreasonableness, nor narrowness. Whately, indeed, was the strenuous man of his time. Another liberal theologian was Renn Dickson Hampden, who later became professor of moral philosophy and then of divinity in the university. It was his appointment to the latter post in 1836 that led to the ecclesiastical storm on the crest of which John Henry Newman and his immediate followers were swept into the Church of Rome. The rock of offense was that in The Scholastic Philosophy Considered in its Relations to Christian Theology he had placed the authority of the Bible above that of the church. This might seem to us more evangelical than "Broad Church" or liberal, but it was regarded by the High Church party as rationalistic in its tendency. Later Dr. Hampden became Bishop of Hereford, and is supposed to be, in a measure, the prototype of "Bishop Proudie" in Anthony Trollope's delightful Barchester Towers. Hampden, like Arnold, was an excellent teacher, and as principal of Saint Mary Hall turned out successful scholars.

At Oriel, as one of the Fellows, and later as tutor, was the saintly John Keble, author of The Christian Year, which since its publication in 1826 has been a manual of devotion wherever the English language is spoken. As able intellectually as Whately, probably a finer scholar, he was yet wholly without assertion, worldliness, or arrogance, and made a model village pastor. He had a cure near Winchester, at Fairford, which he left in 1818 to come up again to Oriel. At this time he writes as follows to Arnold's

friend, John Taylor Coleridge, from whom a quotation has been given earlier in this article:

> I thought at first it would be very uncomfortable for me to give up my cure and become an academic again; but I get more and more reconciled to it every day. You consider tuition as a species of pastoral care; do you not? Otherwise it might seem questionable whether a clergyman ought to leave a cure of souls for it. And yet there are some people at Oxford who seem to imagine that college tutors have nothing to do with the morals. If I thought so, I would never undertake the office.

An Oxford tutor has great influence, if he sees fit to use it. On him devolves the duty of molding the minds of the undergraduates at a most impressionable time; he reads with them, quizzes them unmercifully if of an eager mind and conscientious temper, and prepares them for the ordeal of the "schools" or examining board. Here, if anywhere, the Socratic method is available, for the classes are small, the temper of each student is known to the teacher, and it is possible to indulge in the best kind of mental and moral gymnastic. Practically, the English university system depends vitally on the efficiency of its college tutors; and unless these men carry into their labors the devoted spirit of John Keble, they are not fulfilling their obligations. The professors at Oxford have no such vital relation to the academic life; for instance, the professor of poetry is a lecturer who is appointed for a short term of years, and must appear for only a week or ten days during the year. But a tutor like Keble is an abiding power.

Last of the noble Oriel Fellows of this generation was the great John Henry Newman, to whom the unexpected election in 1822 came with as keen a delight as did John Wesley's election as Fellow of Lincoln, nearly a century before, to his proud father. When receiving the congratulations of the other Fellows he bore it all complacently until Keble took his hand, and then he felt so abashed and unworthy of the honor done him that he wished to sink into the ground. At this time Newman was an Evangelical, and not a High Churchman, like Keble, nor a Broad Churchman, like Arnold, Whately, and Hampden. It is well to note that the term "High Churchman" underwent at this time a radical change in its signification. The High Churchman of the eighteenth century was a resolute defender of the church as by law established,

and resented any discussion and inquiry into its pretensions as something unpatriotic and dangerous. An excellent type of the old-fashioned High Churchman is found in Samuel Johnson, the narrowest of all the leading forces in English letters. With the coming of the nineteenth century few men of character were found of this school; it was out of date. In his *Apologia pro sua vita* Newman refers to such High Churchmen as "two-bottle" orthodox men, who loved port wine and the old ways, but were hardly to be taken seriously. Their pet dislikes were popery and Methodism; they abhorred the pretensions of Rome and all forms of sectarianism, especially when these forms were militant and aggressive. The Evangelicals meanwhile had gained ground in the country—devout men who sought to make their hearts right with God and follow implicitly the teachings of the Bible. Their weakness was a philosophic narrowness and a misreading of history; they were almost as insular as the "two-bottle" men. The elect, according to their interpretation of God's dealings with humanity, were a very limited number indeed. At a university like Oxford, which now sought to keep up the traditions of the ages and be in touch with general truth everywhere, the Evangelicals were pushed aside, and the earnest men were divided between those who strove to harmonize their religion with the new advances in science and those who were anxious to find a *via media* with Roman Catholicism. The saints of mediævalism were real children of God, and the Church of Rome had produced within its pale, and still fostered, a type of Christian excellence which was worth careful study and imitation. John Henry Newman, brought up a narrow Evangelical, and nurtured in the teachings of Romaine, Thomas Scott, and Jones of Nayland, was fascinated by these records of a whole-souled devotion to God which he found in pre-Reformation writings. On the other hand, men like Whately and Arnold, regarding intensely the problems of the day, intellectual, social, and economical, were mainly anxious to bring the teachings of Scripture into harmony with present-day issues. Finally, though living in the same surroundings and associated with the same great institution, they hardly seemed to touch one another. The Broad Churchmen retained their dislike and distrust of the papacy, while

the new High Churchmen drew nearer and nearer to Rome and supplied the ancient enemy with proselytes.

Arnold was not at this time brought into personal relations with Newman, who was his junior by several years, and who succeeded in 1823 to the fellowship which he resigned. Before his election as Fellow Arnold had gained the chancellor's prize for the essay in Latin, and two years later the prize for the essay in English. The four years from 1815 to 1819 he spent at Oxford, reading extensively in the library and instructing private pupils. Thereafter he removed to Laleham, on the Thames River, near Staines, where he established a private school, and next year married. His marriage involved the resignation of his fellowship, and so his close connection with Oriel came to an end. The two distinguished Oriel Fellows met once, and only once. In 1841, a year before his untimely death, the great Rugby headmaster was up at Oxford delivering his inaugural lecture as Regius professor of history. In the following Lent he returned to give the first seven of his lectures and on this occasion dined at Oriel, where he met Newman. For years he had been fighting Newmanism, that is, the High Church party which was coquetting with Romanism. Just at this time, in a private letter dated October 30, 1841, he expresses his opinions very vigorously regarding the issue:

> Undoubtedly I think worse of Roman Catholicism than I did some years ago. But my feelings toward S. [a Roman Catholic] are quite different from my feelings toward T. [a Newmanite], because I think the one a fair enemy, the other a treacherous one. The one is a Frenchman in his own uniform, and within his own præsidia; the other is the Frenchman disguised in a red coat, and holding a post within our præsidia for the purpose of betraying it. I should honor the first and hang the second.

And again a few weeks later, in a letter to Justice J. T. Coleridge, he declares how emphatically he would object to seeing any Newmanite appointed to a teaching post at Oxford, except perhaps it were in science; for he considered their whole mind perverted.

> This [objection] is, I think, true in theory; but what I hope to find when I get up to Oxford is that the Newmanites' minds are not wholly perverted; that they have excellences which do not appear to one at a distance who knows them only as Newmanites; and in this way I hope that my opinion of many, very many of the men who hold Newman's views may become greatly more favorable than it is now, because I shall

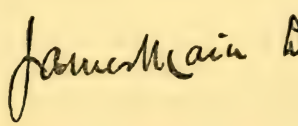
see their better parts as well as their bad ones. And in the same way I trust that many of them will learn to think more favorably of me.

It was a pleasant surprise both to him and his admirers that the Oxford audience which gathered to hear him in the Sheldonian theater was so friendly and appreciative.

When Thomas Arnold left Oxford for Laleham, he was led to the study of German through a desire to get a closer acquaintance with Niebuhr's History of Rome; and this study widened the range of his intellectual sympathies. In the year 1827 he made a holiday journey to Rome, with two of his pupils, and called on the Chevalier Bunsen, who was then attached to the Prussian legation there. The two men immediately struck up a friendship which proved lasting. Bunsen's God in History is an epochal book. This able German was at once statesman, scholar, and theologian; and he shared with Arnold many of the latter's views on the close connection that should exist between church and state in a well-ordered country. At this time he was engaged in preparing a liturgy for his own nation, "bringing into prominence the believer's sacrifice"—the continuous spiritual giving of thanks, which is the self-sacrifice of the Christian. Largely through the efforts of Bunsen and his associates, friendly relations were set up at this time between the English and German churches which recall the days of John Wesley's youth, when the courts of Berlin and Saint James's discussed the possibility of closer relations between German and English Protestantism. Sharp, Archbishop of York, the warm friend of the Epworth rector, carried on a correspondence with the court chaplain at Berlin, Bishop Jablonski, having for its aim the union of Lutherans and Anglicans by the adoption of the English Church liturgy. At one time matters seemed favorable, but the death of the Prussian king in 1713 put an end to the negotiations. Bunsen's diplomatic efforts, however, resulted in an agreement between the English and Prussian governments to maintain at Jerusalem a joint bishopric, and a converted Jew named Alexander was appointed by England to the new see. The appointment scandalized the High Church party, who regarded it as a schismatic act. Bishop Alexander held the office for only three years, when he was succeeded by the energetic Gobat, nominee of

William IV of Prussia, who survived until 1886. No attempt was then made to keep up the joint office, and it lapsed, for the two churches had drifted apart in the meantime. Henceforth all such relations were to be on a church basis only, and Pan-Anglicanism, Pan-Presbyterianism, and such movements have since sprung up. To the school of Bunsen and Arnold the political aspect seemed dignified and reasonable; but they rated the element of religious conviction too low, and their Broad Churchism lacked stability and root.

No more interesting occasion in the modern history of the University of Oxford has ever occurred than the appearance of the new professor of history to deliver his first course of lectures. It meant everything to the ancient institution—the decline of the wave of mediævalism which had swept over it during the previous six or seven years, and the rise of a spirit of modernism and realism. The outlook of Oxford has always been somewhat circumscribed and self-centered; it has not been the mother of other institutions, like Cambridge, adjusting itself carefully to the needs of the present, on the principle of give-and-take. Even Arnold's lectures were the particular product of an Oxford-trained man addressing himself to Oxonians. But he spoke as one who had drunk in the best of modern German thought and ideals, and also as one who felt deeply with the struggling masses in our modern hives of industry. That so grand an Englishman should have ushered in, at its greatest seat of learning, the era of economists and sociologists in English history was indeed significant. All throughout his discourses there was a wistful tone, as if the speaker felt he might not be spared to carry out his appointed task beyond the mere outlining. And so it proved. Before the year was out, and long before another Lent, Thomas Arnold was laid in his grave within the chapel at Rugby and others had to carry on his labors.



Art. V.—VISIONS OF THE CHRIST

The colossus of the Roman empire had reached the climax of its marvelous development. On the east its boundaries extended to the river Euphrates, on the south to Africa and Arabia, on the north to the Rhine and the Danube, and on the west to the Pillars of Hercules and the great ocean, thus occupying what was practically the whole of the then known world. Beyond the Rhine, as far as the icy seas of the North, was a wilderness of unbroken forests and trackless morasses inhabited by a scanty population of nomadic, half-barbarous Germans whom alone the Romans had failed to subjugate. South of the fertile fringe of African provinces ruled by Rome stretched the Sahara Desert, and then the endless labyrinthine succession of tropical jungles. To the West, beyond the Fortunate Isles and the Ultima Thule of the ancient world, far over the watery waste of the great sea whose waves had never been furrowed by the keel of any vessel, deep in the heart of the setting sun, lay a vast continent covered with mighty forests, traversed by lordly rivers, watched over by solemn, snow-capped mountains; a land of mystery, whose silence was unbroken save by the cry of savage beasts and the distant thunder of the surf along the solitary shores; a land as fresh in its virgin beauty as when it first took shape beneath the hands of God in the stir of the forces whence issued the world. While thus these far-off lands, destined to become the seats of mighty nations, were still unknown, shrouded in an impenetrable pall of darkness, corruption, superstition, and nameless vice were eating at the heart of humanity in the civilized world itself. On all sides were sin and ignorance; even the ancient faith in the gods was gone, leaving a cynical atheism in its place; might was right, oppression was universal, pity, tenderness, and love were virtues unknown. The whole creation, Saint Paul says, was groaning and travailing in pain; a judgment of the conditions of the times summed up by the pagan poet Virgil in that exquisite line which Saint Jerome a century or two later kept murmuring over and over to himself as he wandered through the winding passages of the

Catacombs of Rome: "Sorrow and fear all around and the multiple image of death."

Then came the blaze of glory in the heavens and the song of the angels above the little town of Bethlehem; then came the mysterious star in the east, guiding the wise men over mountain and valley, over river and plain, till, as the early dawn touched with light the misty mountain tops, they knelt before the manger in the rude stable and saw in the face of a little Child that light which was to lighten every man who cometh into the world. Well may ye gaze in silent adoration, O ye Magi, far off in yon Judæan land! for the advent of that little Child marks the turning point in the history of the world.

Years have passed away. The Saviour has lived his life, wrought his deeds, suffered a cruel death, been buried, has risen again and ascended into heaven, leaving behind a little band of followers to become the seed of the church universal. On the road to Damascus went a certain Saul of Tarsus, his heart full of bigotry and his mind intent on persecution of the infant church, when, suddenly, at mid-day, he saw a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about him, and he heard a voice saying, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. . . . I have appeared unto thee for this purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness . . . of these things which thou hast seen." Well for the world that he was not disobedient unto the heavenly vision, for out of that vision came a new man whose future life was fraught with untold consequences—Paul the missionary, who first preached in foreign lands the crucified and risen Christ, and began that movement of propaganda which has resulted in a world-wide Christianity; Paul the interpreter of Christ's message, who transformed the gospel into a universal religion and thus laid the foundation of the great church itself and of all Christian civilization.

Again the scene changes. It is nearly three hundred years since the Apostle Paul had fought the good fight, had kept the faith, and died the death of a martyr. In the meantime the great Roman empire, having reached its climax under Augustus, had begun the slow but sure process of decline and now was tottering

to its full. It was the year 312 after Christ. A Roman general from his provinces of Brittany and Gaul had been preparing to wage war against his rival and enemy, the Emperor Maxentius. At the head of a large army he had taken the road to Italy and was now marching toward Rome. Yet, somehow or other, he was full of forebodings and misgivings, undecided as to whether he should give battle or not; and, as he sat and meditated, in the midst of his anxiety and indecision he thought of his father Constantius, and how he had protected the Christians and had lived a life full of prosperity, while those other princes who had persecuted the followers of Christ had ended their lives wretchedly; and so, although a pagan himself, he asked the God of the Christians to show him a sign as to what he should do. He had reached the banks of the river Tiber where, then as now, it was crossed by the Milvian Bridge, just outside the Porta del Popolo of Rome, when, as we are told by Eusebius, on the twenty-seventh day of October, 312, a little after midday, he saw a flaming cross in the sky with these words written upon it: "In hoc signo vinces," "In this sign shalt thou conquer," and on the following night he had a vision of Christ himself, who appeared to him holding in his hand the same image he had seen in the sky and ordered him to place it on his standard to be borne before his army when they marched to battle. All the world knows what followed: how Constantine conquered his enemy and became emperor of Rome; how he publicly confessed his faith in Christ, and how he made Christianity the official religion of the Roman world. And as from the vision of the Magi at Bethlehem dates the church universal, as from the vision of Saint Paul on the road to Damascus dates the founding of speculative and dogmatic Christianity, so from the vision of Constantine before the gates of Rome dates the mighty power of the papacy, the hierarchy of the mediæval church; the century-long contest between Pope and emperor which filled the Dark Ages with deeds of epic splendor.

The centuries roll on; seven hundred years more have passed away, seven hundred years of ever-thickening darkness, ever-increasing fear and terror, ever-spreading ignorance and degradation. The light of ancient art and literature had died out, only a few

smoldering sparks still existing here and there in monastery and school. The incursions of hordes of cruel barbarians had laid waste the fairest regions of Europe. First those strange half-human monsters, the Huns, led by Attila, the Scourge of God; then the wave upon wave of Saracenic incursions sweeping across the African provinces and turning them forever to the faith of Mohammed, conquering the whole of Spain, to be driven from there only eight centuries later, conquering Italy and spreading devastation even to the gates of the Eternal City itself; and, finally, the Normans, in their swift ships, making sudden descents on the coasts and ascending the rivers, spreading on all sides such fear and terror that an added clause was put into the prayers of the church, the trembling people murmuring with fear-struck voices, "From the fury of the Normans, good Lord, deliver us." And then came famine and plague and conflagrations, while even the heavens themselves seemed in league with all other forces to destroy the world; showers of stars fell from the sky; strange comets appeared visible for many weeks; great dragons were seen flying from north to south, terrifying men with their noise and their fiery breath. No wonder the minds of men gave way, weakened by all these things, and superstition reigned supreme; no wonder the belief was universal that the world was destined to be destroyed when the year 1000, foretold in the Book of Revelation, should come, "the end of the world approaching," as many of the contemporary documents were inscribed. When the dread millennium year, however, had passed away and the world still stood, it seemed to take on new life, and with the eleventh century we begin to see the dawn of a new and better civilization. Education was revived, cathedrals were built, great men marked out the lines on which the following centuries were to move.

It was Christmas Eve, in one of the last years of the eleventh century. In the little church near the castle of Fontaines in old Burgundy, two miles from Dijon, the priests were celebrating the Christmas mass, and to the service had come the Lord of Fontaines and his wife, Aletta, a beautiful, devout Christian lady. With them was their little son, a child with golden locks and azure eyes, already manifesting the qualities which were destined to make him

the best beloved and most influential man of Europe of his time—gentleness, and love, and infinite tenderness of heart. And as he gazed upon the lighted candles that adorned the altar, and listened to the singing of the hymns, and meditated in childish love on the strange story of the birth of the Lord, his eyes grew heavy and he fell asleep in his mother's arms, and lo! a vision came to him of the infant Jesus; and as he gazed upon the beautiful eyes and the tender mouth of him who was so small and yet who upbears the universe, so childlike on earth yet so majestic in the heavens, there came into his heart so deep a love for the Christ that ever after that, says Jacobus de Voragine, in his Golden Legend, "he made a noble work, among all his other works, of the laud and praising of God and his blessed mother." It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux upon all succeeding centuries even down to the present; not merely because of what he did in reforming the life of the clergy, in establishing on a firm basis the dogmas of the church, in making the mass the central feature of divine worship, and in lifting the Virgin Mary to her unique place at the head of the hierarchy of saints, but because he was the first to bring down from the far-off metaphysical heights and plant in the hearts of all men the Christ; no longer an abstract dogma but the Son of God and the brother of us all. He was the first to dwell in holy contemplation on the Saviour's suffering and pain; his gentleness and love; on the labors he performed in preaching, his fatigues in journeying, his vigils in prayer, his temptations and fastings, his tears of sympathy. "Such meditations," he declares, "uplift my spirit in adverse times and they offer safe leadership to one trying to walk in the King's highway, between the sorrows and joys of the present life. Therefore all these things are often on my lips, as you know; they are always in my heart, as God knows; they are ever familiar to my pen, as is evident to all; and this is my highest philosophy, to know Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Down through the ages his uplifting and singularly sanctifying influence has come, not only in the Church of Rome but in all Christendom, and to-day all believers in Christ join hands in harmony and peace as they sing this most beautiful of all his hymns:

O sacred Head, now wounded,
With grief and shame weighed down,
Now scornfully surrounded,
With thorns thine only crown;
O sacred Head, what glory,
What bliss, till now was thine!
Yet, though despised and gory,
I joy to call thee mine.

Be near me when I'm dying,
O show thy cross to me;
And, for my succor flying,
Come, Lord, and set me free;
These eyes, new faith receiving,
From Jesus shall not move;
For he who dies believing
Dies safely, through thy love.

It was on a certain day of the year 1511 in the city of Rome. The world metropolis had gone through many vicissitudes since Romulus had built the rude wall about the little settlement nestling half hidden among the seven hills. It had grown and expanded, had sent its legions forth to conquer the world, had seen men of all nations crowd within its walls, had welcomed with unexampled tolerance all kinds of religion until Christianity itself had taken full possession and had crowded out all else. It had seen its walls broken down and its mighty monuments destroyed by wave upon wave of barbaric invasion, Teuton and Norman, Saracen and Christian. For centuries it had stood in ruins, a shadow of its former self, but in these later years a new spirit had swept over the Holy City, as it had done over all Italy, the breath of a new epoch in the history of mankind—the Revival of Learning, the new birth, the Renaissance. The Roman papacy, exiled for seventy years in the modern Babylon of Avignon, had come back to Rome, bringing with it all the splendor of its ritual and its world-embracing claims, with all the multitudinous offices and rewards at its disposal. A great crowd of men of letters, artists, sculptors, architects, rushed thither to lay at the feet of the church the treasures of art and learning, and as if by magic a new city had risen from the moss-covered ruins of ancient Rome, a city once more to amaze the world by the splendor of its buildings, by the brilliancy of its life, by the corruption of its clergy. Paganism again was everywhere

lifting up its head, in the streets, in the palaces of the rich and noble, in the service of the church itself; taking possession of all minds, customs, and consciences. To this great sinful city, as it may indeed be called, came a humble, sincere German peasant monk who for many years had been seeking the peace of his soul. Unable to find it in the outward services of the Roman Church at home, he had come now to the mother city of Christendom with longing in his soul. And yet, as he went about the streets of Rome, as he gazed upon the magnificent churches and buildings, as he saw the pomp and pride of ecclesiastical power, the worldliness and corruption of the clergy, the crass superstition of the multitude, little by little there rose within him a feeling that not in all this lay the kingdom of God, and he prayed for light. And so one day, desiring to make one further effort to gain peace by the old way of pious works, he joined the crowd of worshipers who were slowly climbing up the Santa Scala on their knees—the holy staircase, said to have been in Pilate's palace and to have been ascended by the feet of the Saviour himself—and as Martin Luther slowly and painfully made his way upward, lifting one knee after the other, a sudden illumination revealed itself within him, and he seemed to hear a voice crying in a tone of thunder, "The just shall live by faith," and, leaping up, he made the rest of the ascent on his feet. From that hour dates the whole history of Protestantism, that theory which declares that religion does not consist in outward forms but in inward experience, that forgiveness of sins comes direct from God himself without any human mediation, that the aim of every pious soul is not to fly from the world but to overcome it, that the ideal toward which all must tend is the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord. And as the Roman Church was built on the authority of Peter, so Martin Luther based his great Reformation on the doctrine of the justification by faith. "Though as a monk," he says, "I was holy and irreproachable, my conscience was still filled with trouble and torment. But when by the spirit of God I understood these words; when I learned how the justification of the sinner proceeds from God's mere mercy by the way of truth, then I felt myself born again as a new man, and I entered by an open door into the very paradise of God. From

that hour I saw the precious and holy Scriptures with new eyes. And as I had before heartily hated that expression, 'the righteousness of God,' I began from that time to value and to love it as the sweetest and most consolatory truth. Truly, the text of Paul was to me the very gate of heaven." And then, as bitter opposition, excommunication, persecution and war were raised against him, he cries with all the force of his mighty personality: "I see that the devil, by means of his teachers and doctors, is incessantly attacking this fundamental article. Well, then, I, Doctor Martin Luther, an unworthy evangelist of our Lord Jesus Christ, do confess this article, 'that faith alone, without works, justifies in the sight of God'; and I declare that in spite of the emperor of the Romans, the emperor of the Turks, the emperor of the Tartars, the emperor of the Persians, the Pope, all the cardinals, bishops, priests, monks, nuns, kings, princes, nobles, all the world and all the devils, it shall stand unshaken forever." There is no need of repeating the oft-told story of what followed this scene on the Santa Scala at Rome: the nailing of the ninety theses on the church door at Wittenberg, the dispute with Eck, the Diet of Worms, where were uttered those words which, like the first shot fired at Lexington, literally echoed around the world, the concealment in the Wartburg, the translation of the Bible, and the death of Luther himself, in 1546, uttering this last prayer: "Heavenly Father, eternal, merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Him I have taught, him I have confessed, him I love as my Saviour and Redeemer, whom the wicked persecute, dishonor, and reprove. Take my poor soul up to thee." Then came the world-shaking religious wars: those of the Huguenots in France, the Thirty Years' War in Germany, and the Puritan Revolution in England, until, a hundred years after Luther's death, the final line of division was drawn once for all between Protestant and Catholic lands.

And now the scene changes once more—this time to England, to the parish of Elstow near the town of Bedford. In June, 1645, the battle of Naseby had ended the first civil war, and a year after the army had been disbanded. Among the soldiers thus disbanded was a poor artisan, of lowly family and of ungodly life. The deep

religious spirit of the time had taken fast hold upon him and conviction of sin sank into his soul. He was overwhelmed with a sense of his utter corruption and the terrors of hell. His mind was affected, and he was beset with the awful temptation to sell his Saviour, as Judas had done of old. It was with him day and night, and he could not so much as stoop to pick up a pin, chop a stick, or cast his eye to look on anything, without hearing that awful whisper, "Sell Christ for this; sell Christ for that; sell him, sell him." And he would shout back, "I will not, I will not, no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands of worlds." But his deliverance came at last. For one day as he was passing into a field, his conscience still darkly troubled, and fear and anguish in his heart, he seemed to hear a voice from heaven uttering these words: "Thy righteousness is in heaven"; "and methought withal," he says, "I saw with the eyes of my soul Jesus Christ at God's right hand; there, I say, was my righteousness; so that wherever I was, or whatever I was doing, God could not say of me, 'He wants my righteousness, . . . for my righteousness was Jesus Christ himself, 'The same yesterday, to-day, and forever.'" And that little field near Bedford town has become a historic spot in the religious history of the world. John Bunyan left it with his burdens gone, his temptation put to flight forever, his heart full of rejoicing for the grace and the love of God. As he walked home, the whole world was transfigured and radiant with a new glory, for in his heart, like David in Browning's poem, he felt at last the new law, and

> The same stared in the white, humid faces upturned by the flowers;
> The same worked in the heart of the cedars and moved the vine-bowers,
> And the little brooks, witnessing, murmured, persistent and low,
> With their obstinate, all-but-hushed voices, "E'en so; it is so."

And then came his preaching to the crowds of simple folk in the country round about, the prohibition by the restored church, his imprisonment for twelve years in Bedford jail, the writing of his books, Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners and the Pilgrim's Progress. Well might he exclaim in his rude verse,

> For though men keep my outward man
> Within their bolts and bars,
> Yet, by the faith of Christ, I can
> Mount higher than the stars.

For he has won imperishable glory and exerted an undying influence through that wonderful book in which, like Dante of old, John Bunyan tells in simple language of man's escape from sin and the sorrows of the world. Where in all civilized lands exists a man who does not know the story of Christian and his experiences in the Slough of Despond, the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Vanity Fair, the House Beautiful, the Land of Beulah? Who has not read with uplifted soul the scenes in which are described the crossing of the river and the welcome into the Heavenly City? Dean Stanley has declared the Pilgrim's Progress to be one of the few books which act as a religious bond to all English Christendom. It is one of the first to be translated by the missionary, and, as has been beautifully said, "it follows the Bible from land to land as the singing of birds follows the dawn."

It was midnight in the great city of New York. The tide of business had passed away; weary toilers in shop and factory and office had gone to their homes. The streets of the business districts were silent and dark, yawning like black cañons between the great masses of the buildings, ten, twenty, thirty stories high. The upper part of the city, however, was all ablaze with light and gay with brilliantly dressed men and women issuing from theater and opera house, entering their cabs, which rattled away over the asphalt pavement, or seated in the richly adorned cafés and restaurants, which now began a second day for the benefit of the fashionable world as well as the demi-monde of New York. The other side of the city, too, was alive, if that word can be applied to the awful specters of low vice and crime which slunk along the streets, crouched in dark doorways, and sought with infinitely pathetic attempts at coquetry to lure the unthinking youth to his destruction. Midnight had just sounded from all the church bells and shed for a moment a semblance of peace over all. It was in one of the numerous saloons that crowd each other on Third Avenue and the Bowery. A man was sitting in a drunken stupor on an empty whisky keg. Around him men were coming and going, ordering drinks, cursing, quarreling, amid the dingy, smoke-grimed, beer-stained atmosphere. The man himself was a mere wreck, a ruin of his former self. He had lost everything that

makes life worth the living. His friends had deserted him, even his wife, whom he had married in those far-off days when he was innocent and upright and full of hope, who had loved him and clung to him till she could stand it no longer, had left him and gone to her home in the south, a broken-hearted woman. Hear him tell his own story: "I was sitting on a whisky barrel for perhaps two hours when, all of a sudden, I seemed to feel some great and mighty presence. I did not know then what it was. I learned afterward it was Jesus, the sinner's Friend. Never till my dying day will I forget the sight presented to my horrified gaze. My sins appeared to creep along the wall in letters of fire. I turned and looked in another direction, and there I saw them again. I have always believed I got a view of eternity right there in that gin-mill. I believe I saw what every poor lost sinner will see when he stands unrepentant and unforgiven at the bar of God. It filled me with unspeakable terror. I thought I was dying. Those near by were looking on with scornful curiosity. I said: 'Boys, listen to me. I am dying, but I will die in the street before I will ever take another drink.'" And he kept his word; for though he lived nearly twenty-four years longer, from that night, April 18, 1882, in Kirker's saloon, at Third Avenue and 125th Street, Samuel Hopkins Hadley never tasted a drop of liquor till his death. And when he died thousands rose to call him blessed—thousands of "poor bums" whom he loved and for whom he prayed with his dying breath, thousands of those who contributed to the support of the Water Street Mission, where for eighteen years he was the leader and the inspiration of thousands all over the land whose hearts have thrilled as they have read in his own words of his vision of the Christ, and who remember how that vision made an epoch not only in his own life but in the lives of hundreds of others.

To these and countless others the vision has come in the silence of the sleep time, in the glare of noonday sun, to scholar and warrior, to theologian and mystic, to saint and sinner, inspiring them to the service of God and man; giving them power to the winning of multitudes by word of mouth, by written page, or by the charm of a holy life. And we need indeed, from time to time,

to read over the story of these visions of a higher spiritual life. For how often as we look out over the world and see on all sides strife and envy, as we read the revelations of greed and corruption in our own favored land, and hear the rumors of war and bloodshed far off in distant lands, do we yield involuntarily to a sense of discouragement and doubt. Who can explain to us the strange mystery of sin and suffering? Who can teach us to catch the music behind the apparent discord of life?

Verily there is but one name given unto men whereby they can attain unto this vision of the truth. On a statue of Isis in Egypt were written these words: "I am whatsoever was, whatsoever is, whatsoever shall be, and the veil that is over my face no mortal shall ever lift." In a letter written by Petrarch to Bocaccio, when the latter was nearing his death, he says, speaking of a certain priest of Siena named Petroni, "And in Christ's face it was conceded to him to read the things that are, the things that have been, and the things that are to come." The statue of Isis—what is it but the riddle of the universe seen through the eyes of science alone? The priest of Siena—what is he but the type of all those to whom God, through Christ, has revealed himself; of those whose hearts are filled with that love which "believeth all things and hopeth all things," and with that faith which alone will enable a man to say, with Saint Paul, "For now we see through a glass, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I am known"?

Oscar Kuhns.

Art. VI.—BROWNING AND OMAR KHAYYÁM

A Comparison of "Rabbi Ben Ezra" and the "Rubáiyát"

It is a curious fact that readers take great interest in literary productions of very different and even contradictory qualities. The enjoyment may come from the elements they have in common — the poetic diction, the rhythm, and the imagination; or it may be due to the diverse factors in our very complex natures that take an interest in opposite elements. We are therefore not surprised when we find the same persons enjoying such unlike poems as Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra" and Omar Khayyám's "Rubáiyát." While both possess many of the excellences of all good poetry, and are deservedly popular, Omar's poem presents a very different view of life from Browning's, the latter, we venture to say, much the truer. Given all the formal qualities of good poetry, the ultimate value and the greatness of a poem depend upon the soundness and wholesomeness of its interpretation of life and its underlying philosophy. The greatest poetry is that which expresses not merely some but all of the elements of human nature, and in the most complete and comprehensive manner. Herein consists the superiority of "Rabbi Ben Ezra" over the "Rubáiyát." It is not known positively that Browning had seen FitzGerald's translation of Omar Khayyám before writing his "Rabbi Ben Ezra," but it seems likely that he had either read it or heard of it and its contents from some of his friends, most probably from Rossetti. FitzGerald's poem was published in 1859, while Browning was still in Italy, where he found it difficult to get books; but Rossetti and Browning were correspondents, and Rossetti is known to have bought early copies of the translation of Omar to send to his friends. At any rate, it was not long after the appearance of Omar that Browning wrote "Rabbi Ben Ezra," for it was published in his next volume, *Dramatis Personæ*, in 1864. It seems probable, then, that Browning wrote his poem—his Psalm of Life—in direct opposition to that of Omar Khayyám; that "Rabbi Ben Ezra" contains Browning's reply to the view of life that found such entrancing expression in that poem. But if there is little or no external evidence bearing

directly on the matter there is abundant internal evidence to indicate that Browning had Omar in mind when he wrote. The poems deal with the same general problems of life in much the same manner, and they even employ the same figures of speech. Browning's poem takes up almost every main point of Omar's, and the very forms of expression seem to be chosen to show the contrast in the points of view. The coincidences are so many and so striking that one is almost forced to the conviction that Browning wrote with a copy of Omar before him. A study and comparison of the poems will show the fundamental differences in the views.

It is no part of the present purpose to discuss the many questions about Omar that have arisen since Browning wrote his poem. It is sufficient for us to take the poem as it appeared in the first edition, not considering how much or how little it contains of either Omár or FitzGerald. It may be that FitzGerald's "Rubáiyát" "is a poem on Omar rather than a translation of his work," and it may be that the poem should be given a mystical rather than a literal interpretation, but these questions have no significance for us. All we are called upon to consider is the meaning which was accepted by the readers of the day and doubtless by Browning if, as we suppose, he knew the poem.

The two poems, one spoken by a Persian and the other by a Hebrew, present in contrast what may be called the secular view of life and the religious. In the first a young man looks out upon life and, seeing time passing and old age approaching, resolves to make the most of the pleasures of the present. Whatever else the world may afford, it certainly offers opportunities for enjoyment. Therefore make the best of that which is at hand:

> And, as the Cock crew, those who stood before
> The Tavern shouted: "Open, then, the Door!
> You know how little while we have to stay,
> And, once departed, may return no more."

In the second an old rabbi is speaking, presumably in reply to a disciple or friend who regrets the master's advancing age, and expresses the view that with old age he is only coming into the ripeness and the best of life. Old age is the harvest of which

youth was the seed-time, and the reaping is better than the sowing. It is better that one should grow old, and not forever retain the ignorance and immaturity of youth:

> Grow old along with me!
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life, for which the first was made.

Both poets advocate making use of the present. The past has gone and cannot be recalled. The future is not yet here and cannot be enjoyed. All we have is the present, and wisdom tells us to use it to the fullest extent. But reasons that reveal very different ideals of life are given for seizing to-day. The pleasure-loving Persian says we should use the present because in it alone we have pleasure. Pleasures cannot be enjoyed at any other time. We should therefore take pleasure to-day, while it lasts, for pleasure is the only good. He, accordingly, sings the praises of wine, to him the symbol of pleasure and enjoyment:

> Dreaming when Dawn's Left Hand was in the Sky
> I heard a Voice within the Tavern cry,
> "Awake, my Little ones, and fill the Cup
> Before Life's Liquor in its Cup be dry."

The Hebrew, who no doubt expresses fully the mind of Browning, urges participation in the duties of to-day, hard though they be, for human life consists in intellectual and spiritual endeavor even through doubts and fears. This it is that distinguishes man from the brute. Human life consists in a sort of spiritual uneasiness, not in a pleasurable ease:

> Here, work enough to watch
> The Master work, and catch
> Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play.

The same general counsel seems to be given by both poets. We are to seize to-day (*carpe diem*) and make the best use of it we can; no form of philosophy can promise us to-morrow. It is a matter not of reason but of observation that we cannot be sure of the future. But Omar's reason for seizing the present is one thing and Browning's quite another. Omar tells us to use to-day because it is all we have in which to enjoy ourselves. At any rate, says this spendthrift philosophy, the present is always best:

Ah, my Beloved, fill the Cup that clears
To-DAY of past Regrets and future Fears—
To-morrow?—Why, To-morrow I may be
Myself, with Yesterday's Sev'n Thousand Years.

The Rabbi, on the other hand, advises us to seize the present because the future grows out of the present and the future is always the best. Though we live in the present, the future is always becoming the present and is made of the present. To-day is the germ out of which to-morrow grows:

Therefore I summon age
To grant youth's heritage,
Life's struggle having so far reached its term:
Thence shall I pass, approved
A man, for aye removed
From the developed brute; a God, though in the germ.

The effort to make the most of the present soon fills the past with triumphs, and "The Future I may face now I have proved the Past."

The two poems, again, disagree fundamentally concerning the purpose of life. Omar knows of nothing but enjoyment, pleasure, to be obtained for its own sake. He is a pure hedonist, and knows no end but the pleasure of the moment. Life is to be estimated in terms of enjoyment, even of indulgence. All else is vain:

Here with a Loaf of Bread beneath the Bough,
A Flask of Wine, a Book of Verse—and Thou
Beside me singing in the Wilderness—
And Wilderness is Paradise enow.

To Browning, however, life is not pleasure but discipline. We are not here to enjoy ourselves but to undergo training for the larger life to come. Life is a school, and the process of life an education. There are larger purposes in life than merely the pleasures of the individual and of the moment. We have each a place in the great plan of the world, and should be ready to take our part even if it be difficult. There lies our best and fullest life:

Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough,
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!
Be our joys three parts pain!
Strive, and hold cheap the strain;
Learn, nor account the pang; dare, never grudge the throe!

Nothing in the two poems, probably, better presents their differences than the uses made of the figure of the potter and the clay. This common Eastern figure serves to present not only the two views of human life but the different conceptions of the universe as well. To Omar we are the clay which is molded into cups merely that we may enjoy the wine of life. To Browning we are the clay in the hands of the Potter who molds us for his own use and at the same time for our highest good. Omar, looking to "uses of a cup," sees nothing but goodly fellowship and joviality:

> My Clay with long Oblivion is gone dry:
> But, fill me with the old familiar Juice,
> Methinks I might recover by and by!

Browning, looking beyond himself to the larger "uses of a cup," sees the divine plan for us, and sees man fulfilling a world purpose and helping to complete the schemes of the Infinite. Man is given participation in the designs of God, and his largest life is accomplished in fulfilling that purpose:

> Look not thou down, but up,
> To uses of a cup:
> The festal board, lamp's flash, and trumpet's peal,
> The new wine's foaming flow,
> The Master's lips aglow!
> Thou, heaven's consummate cup, what needst thou with earth's wheel?

Man, if he will thus submit himself to be molded on the wheel of life by the Divine Potter, can be of service to God, and will find his end to be "to slake Thy thirst"—a great and worthy office.

As a consequence from his view of man, Omar does not believe in a life after death. Man comes to the end of his days and is no more. There is nothing to be hoped for from the process of time but the continuance of the race. Individuality is very real, but is only transient. Man comes from nothing and passes again into nothing. We live, and pass away to make room for others:

> And we, that now make merry in the Room
> They left, and Summer dresses in new Bloom,
> Ourselves must we beneath the Couch of Earth
> Descend, ourselves to make a Couch—for whom?

But where are we when we have passed away to leave room for the next generation? We are nowhere, and of us there is utterly

nothing. Omar's materialism is destructive not only of all personality, but it leaves no room even for itself:

> And if the Wine you drink, the Lip you press,
> End in the Nothing all Things end in—Yes—
> Then fancy while Thou art, Thou art but what
> Thou shalt be—Nothing—Thou shalt not be less.

This same question also troubled Tennyson. He looked out upon life and saw the race continue while the individual passed away, and wondered what would be the end of all. After a hard spiritual and mental struggle he reached the conclusion Browning reached instinctively: that the individual passes on to a larger life in another world. To Browning nothing that ever really exists can perish. The soul that once lives can never die:

> Fool! All that is, at all,
> Lasts ever, past recall;
> Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
> What entered into thee,
> That was, is, and shall be:
> Time's wheel runs back nor stops: Potter and clay endure.

Such are the views of life presented in the two poems. Omar believes in nothing but pleasure; Browning regards life as duty and as training. Omar has little but contempt for man and skepticism for all spiritual things; Browning "thinks nobly of the soul" and entertains high hopes of its spiritual destiny. Omar's philosophy is gloomy and pessimistic in the extreme; Browning's is cheerful and optimistic. These two types of thinking have been in the world almost from the beginning of thought, and to this day neither has argued the other entirely out of court. The vitality of both views may be due to the possession of some truth by each, but the cost of human thinking makes the former harder and harder to maintain. They are very similar to the two Greek schools, Epicureans and Stoics, that have had their advocates in all ages of the world. Omar is in all important points an Epicurean, though Browning is more than a Stoic. Both these schools are known as incomplete Socratics, each representing one phase of the teaching of the great master. Omar, like the Epicureans, is a follower of individual pleasure, and, like them, is a materialist, disbelieving in either God or immortality. Browning, however,

has not such a hard system as the Stoics, for he does not ignore the flesh and pleasure, but transforms them to the purposes of spirit. All things can be enjoyed if only they are given spiritual uses. Nothing is foreign to the soul, and all things can be made to serve man's higher purposes:

> As the bird wings and sings,
> Let us cry, "All good things
> Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than flesh helps soul!"

Browning represents the one complete Socratic (and Platonic) view that embraces in itself all the truth contained in either Omar's hedonism or the contradictory asceticism of the Stoic belief. His view admits of pleasure and at the same time calls for duty, and out of the combination of the two produces a more complete spiritual ideal, the orthodox view of the great classic poets and philosophers. To hold to the former has always been dangerous to the moral life, for it is a kind of moral blight and springs frequently from an ignoble life. Professor Cowell, who first introduced FitzGerald to Persian literature, has said: "No wonder that gloom overshadows all Omar Khayyám's poetry; he was false to his better self, and therefore ill at ease and sad. He was resolved to ignore the future and the spiritual, and anchor only by the material and tangible; but his very insight became blinded and misled him, and instead of something solid and satisfying he grasped only a 'darkness that *could be felt.*' We can trace the evil, running like a canker through his life; his pleasures, his friendships, nay, his very studies become blighted under its touch." On the contrary, Browning's is the view that conduces to noble life and high moral purpose. It takes for granted that life is worth while and that it can be made noble by effort. It inspires to high ideals and lofty endeavor, for even our efforts will be counted in reckoning the achievements of life. Our ideals go to make up the estimate of our spiritual worth:

> Thoughts hardly to be packed
> Into a narrow act,
> Fancies that broke through language and escaped;
> All I could never be,
> All men ignored in me,
> This I was worth to God, whose wheel the pitcher shaped.

In the days when Omar is in vogue the teaching of Browning comes as a moral and spiritual tonic and lifts men above the base desires into a confidence in the good and the infinite. A view of the self such as Omar held leads naturally to a fatalistic and atheistic view of the world. The pleasure-loving and pleasure-seeking individual is likely to have a contempt not only for himself and his plan of life, but for the world which is the embodiment of such a system. No man can follow his lower self without both despising himself and the world which he thinks of as an enlarged self. The hedonistic ideal is incompatible with an infinite intelligence. To be such a pleasure-lover as Omar one needs also to be an atheist, or, at least, a skeptic. And Omar seems now atheist, now skeptic; now denying and now doubting an overruling Intelligence. The absence of moral faith is frequently the reason of such atheistic belief, and moral faith is a quality of the individual:

> O, come with old Khayyám, and leave the Wise
> To talk; one thing is certain, that Life flies;
> One thing is certain, and the Rest is Lies;
> The Flower that once has blown forever dies.

Omar did not reach this skepticism without first trying to reach knowledge. He first consulted the wise men, but found they could not answer his questions:

> Myself when young did eagerly frequent
> Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
> About it and about: but evermore
> Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Perplexed and baffled, he resorted to the wise of both philosophy and religion, and, getting no answer to his queries, was still perplexed. There is a kind of sincerity and honesty in Omar that deserves our respect. The church of his day (Mohammedan) offered him only stones for bread, and he naturally doubted if there were such a thing as true bread. If it is a man's duty to believe, it is also the church's duty to present doctrines that can be believed. It seems, therefore, Omar's misfortune as well as fault that he falls into such desolate despair and doubt. It sometimes takes more independence and manliness to doubt than to believe. In the case of Omar, however, the fault is not more with the doctrines offered him than with the ignoble ideals with which he started. It

has always been true, in Persia as in Palestine, that to learn the doctrine of God it is first necessary to do his will. Omar seems to have tried first to learn the doctrine, and, failing in this, to have resorted to doubt and to wine:

> Divorced old barren Reason from my Bed,
> And took the Daughter of the Vine to Spouse.

Such infidelity of conduct becomes the fruitful mother of doubts and disbeliefs. Returning upon himself, he "watches the perverse course of human affairs" and doubts whether there be a God. Whatever power there is in the universe then seems to play arbitrarily with human life and destiny, and to be in no way worthy of our reverence and of our worship:

> 'Tis all a Chequer-board of Nights and Days
> Where Destiny with Men for Pieces plays:
> Hither and thither moves, and mates, and slays,
> And one by one back in the Closet lays.

We seem but pawns in the hands of an arbitrary and unfeeling Fate that uses us for its own capricious purposes. We are but lines written into the history of things, without any thought of good or ill to us. All things are ordered in a grim fate, and nothing we can do will alter it in the least:

> The Moving Finger writes; and, having writ,
> Moves on: nor all thy Piety nor Wit
> Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line,
> Nor all thy Tears wash out a Word of it.

None of the questions we so eagerly ask about ourselves and the world can be answered. We do not know whence we come nor whither we go. All is darkness, and the universe is deaf to all our cries:

> Into this Universe, and *why* not knowing,
> Nor *whence*, like Water willy-nilly flowing:
> And out of it, as Wind along the Waste,
> I know not *whither*, willy-nilly blowing.

Heaven refuses to give us any knowledge of life, and leaves us wandering in the dark, seeking rest and finding none. No guidance will be given us, and all our requests are refused, and the replies serve only to mock us. Even heaven itself is not guided by intelligence but by fate:

Then to the rolling Heaven itself I cried,
Asking, "What Lamp had Destiny to guide
Her little Children stumbling in the Dark?"
And—"A blind Understanding!" Heaven replied.

The only answer to the mind's questions, and hence the only satisfaction, comes from enjoyment. There is no answer but the wine-cup:

Then to this earthen Bowl did I adjourn
My Lip the secret Well of Life to learn:
And Lip to Lip it murmur'd—"While you live
Drink!—for, once dead, you never shall return."

At last, unable to solve the enigmas of life even in the winecup, and still unable to give up the effort, Omar boldly charges fate with the evils of life, and rising in the pride of independence makes "the tremendous assumption of equal rights between man and God," and proclaims himself ready to exchange forgiveness with God, in "these words of unsurpassed audacity":

Oh, Thou, who Man of baser Earth didst make,
And who with Eden didst devise the Snake;
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of Man
Is blacken'd, Man's Forgiveness give—and take!

This sort of human impertinence was the very antithesis of Browning's attitude. The doubts inevitable to a thinking being are not to be drowned in pleasure, but to be cherished as opening out to intelligence the largeness of life and its possibilities. It is a mark of high and noble origin and destiny that we are able to doubt (that is, to think), and shows that we belong among the infinities:

Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.

Doubt is a spark of the infinite light, and shows we are more allied to God than to the brutes. Man is at once infinite and finite, and the higher is ever calling to the lower, and ever trying to take it up into itself and give it the fullness of the perfect:

Rejoice we are allied
To That which doth provide
And not partake, effect and not receive!
A spark disturbs our clod;
Nearer we hold of God
Who gives than of His tribes that take, I must believe.

The temptations of life assail the believer no less than the skeptic; but his faith helps him to surmount them, and the conquest but confirms his faith. He, too, has had questions to ask, but he has not waited to live till he could find an answer. He nobly took up the tasks of life, and even in those ideals only partly realized he has found the answer to his doubts, and the promise of still larger life:

> For thence—a paradox
> Which comforts while it mocks—
> Shall life succeed in that it seems to fail:
> What I aspired to be,
> And was not, comforts me:
> A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale.

Both Omar and the Rabbi recognize the Power displayed in the universe, and petition that Power to reveal itself more fully. Omar, waiting for an answer, feels impelled at last to doubt its beneficence and betakes himself to the pleasures of life. The Rabbi, equally anxious to know the nature of all things, boldly and hopefully takes up the tasks of life, and taking his part in the great plan of things comes to see the design of the whole and to realize that Love is the ruling Power:

> Not once beat, "Praise be Thine!
> I see the whole design,
> I, who saw Power, see now Love perfect too:
> Perfect, I call Thy plan:
> Thanks that I was a man!
> Maker, remake, complete—I trust what Thou shalt do!"

This is one of Browning's favorite conceptions, that through knowing God first as Power we come to know him as Love. It occurs especially in "An Epistle of Karshish," where Karshish trusts in the midst of doubts that "The All-Great is the All-Loving too," and in "Christmas Eve," where Browning, speaking probably in his own person, says he looked to the skies and "found God there, his visible power," and "an equal evidence that his love, there too, was the nobler dower." It is not the part of wisdom to conceive God as arbitrary fate. He has large plans for us, which we may not know in their entirety but which give every evidence of being beneficent. It is only

fools propound,
When the wine makes its round,
Since life fleets all is change; the Past gone, seize to-day.

The real purpose of life is education, training, shaping for larger divine uses. And God is the Potter who, though he puts the vessel on the wheel and into the fire, is shaping it for its own good and for his highest glory:

He fixed thee 'mid this dance
Of plastic circumstance,
This Present, thou, forsooth, wouldst fain arrest:
Machinery just meant
To give thy soul its bent,
Try thee, and turn thee forth sufficiently impressed.

The purposes of life, then, are seen to be spiritual; not, as Omar thought, merely sensuous; and the development toward old age shows the Rabbi to be right. Omar shows disappointment with life. It has not brought him what he looked for, because he looked for the wrong thing. Now when he has followed his ideal through to old age he sees it has been a false light, and has left only darkness within. Could anything be more melancholy than his own confession of a wasted life as he thinks of the end of his days and his ashes in the earth?

Indeed the Idols I have loved so long
Have done my Credit in Men's Eye much wrong:
Have drown'd my Honour in a shallow Cup,
And sold my Reputation for a Song.

To the Rabbi, on the other hand, old age brings the flower and the fruit of a good life. With a spiritual ideal old age is better than youth. Youth is full of doubt and indecision; old age has maturity, and brings a richness and fullness of joy possible only after the stress of life. Youth guesses, thinks, hopes, while old age knows, and knowledge brings satisfaction. This all leads the soul to reverent humility. There is "no quarrel with fate," for old age has brought all that youth promised. And Browning closes the words of the Rabbi with that wonderful prayer, which has been called "the exultant recognition of the healthy soul that labor and striving are not merely endurable but joyous, provided the mental and moral system is unimpaired by disease":

So, take and use Thy work;
Amend what flaws may lurk,
What strain o' the stuff, what warpings past the aim!
My times be in Thy hand!
Perfect the cup as planned!
Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same!

"Rabbi Ben Ezra" has been well called "the noblest of modern religious poems," and presents "one of the most splendid pictures of the worth of life known to literature." When Browning wrote it he had but recently buried his wife, and was still a comparatively young man, being fifty-two years old. He was beginning to look toward old age, deprived of his greatest earthly joy, and yet calm in the consciousness of divine love. He believed that a youth lived in accordance with the divine plan will result in an ever-ripening and ever more-satisfying old age. As old age approaches Omar Khayyám has no prospect but darkness, and his mind is still full of doubts and fears. The life of pleasure yields no firm beliefs, and no assurances that all is well. All his philosophy has not helped either him or his fellows in the battle of life, and has not contributed to the solution of its mysteries. He has only turned his doubts into a body of beautiful poetry, giving them more dignity and more appearance of truth than their inner worth would warrant. He has stated the hedonist's argument cunningly but not convincingly either to himself or others, and has shown only its impossibility as a life ideal. But Browning has outlined in opposition an ideal more attractive, and including not only pleasure but all other elements that go to make up the perfect man. While not ignoring the interests of the flesh, Browning recognizes the spiritual as the essential man. He therefore chooses duty rather than pleasure. "A brute I might have been, but would not sink i' the scale." Omar's poem contrives to live because of its poetic beauty, Browning's because of its beauty and its truth.

A. W. Crawford.

Art. VII.—THE PRACTICE OF ROMAN COURTS AS SEEN IN THE PROSECUTION OF VERRES

The relationship between the ancient Roman and the modern Anglo-Saxon civil law, and the historical development of the latter from the former, is a subject no less interesting than instructive. In many points our law is only an English copy of the Roman. In other points there is a wider difference; sometimes in the intent, but often only in form. The Roman method of procedure in the prosecution for a state offense seems strange to us. They had no officer whose duty it was to act as prosecutor representing the state in the trial of those charged with having violated the *jus publicum*. Any citizen could bring an accusation, which was called a *postulatio*. The prætor to whom the accusation was brought entered the name of the accused, which act was called *nominis receptio*, and set the date of the trial. Then the *actor*, prosecutor, prepared the necessary papers, which he and his associate, *subscriptor*, if he had one, signed. But it sometimes happened that two or more persons demanded the privilege of conducting the same case. The trial would be a foreordained farce if the defendant were allowed the undisputed privilege of appointing his own prosecutor. On the other hand, if the selection made by the parties claiming to have been injured were to be accepted without question, the interests of the state would often suffer from weak or selfish management. It is reasonable to suppose that when there was but one demanding the right of prosecution he was fairly satisfactory to both the accusers and the accused, otherwise some one else would have been induced to contest with him. But when two or more did appear with *postulationes* it was both wise and necessary that the state should decide which applicant for the place should be recognized. This was the first duty of the judges before whom the case was to be tried. One was to be appointed *actor* and the other dismissed, or the one might be appointed the *actor princeps* and the other his *subscriptor*. Even two or three might be appointed to this subordinate position. Such a selection of the *actor* was called a *divinatio*—a name applied alike to the proceed-

ing and to the speech employed in it. Various explanations have been offered for the meaning and origin of this distinctive name. Asconius in his argument mentions three:

"This speech is called a *divinatio,* since inquiry is made not concerning fact or inference but concerning what is to be, which is a *divinatio,* which one ought to prosecute."

"Some think that it is called a *divinatio* for this reason; because in this case the judges sit without being sworn, in order that they may inform themselves as they wish beforehand concerning each one."

"Others think it is because the affair is conducted without witnesses and tablets, and, these not being presented, the judges follow arguments alone as if they were divining."

Gellius quotes Gavius Bassius as saying that it is called a *divinatio* of the judges inasmuch as the judge must divine, as it were, what decision it is right for him to render. Continuing, Gellius offers another explanation: "The terms 'accuser' and 'accused' are relative and neither can exist without the other. Nevertheless, in this kind of a case, there is an accused but as yet no accuser. Because the accuser is not yet apparent a divination must show who the accuser shall be." Although we have not infrequent references in literature to *divinationes,* yet there is but one extant representative of this class of orations, the one in which Cicero demanded the right to prosecute the notorious Verres.

Gaius Verres, famous for his infamy, was born B. C. 112. His father, C. Verres, was a man sufficiently weak or villainous, or both, to be in favor with Sulla, who made him a senator. We do not know his gentile name, if indeed he had one. Many have thought that it was Cornelius, supposing that he belonged to some obscure branch of that gens, or that he had been adopted into it, or that he had received that name by being made a freedman by Sulla. We know that on Sulla's return from Greece, in B. C. 83, he had made great additions to the Cornelian gens by emancipation, so that it became the most numerous at that particular time. But this is far from sufficient ground for presuming that Verres was a Cornelian. Some have thought that Verres was a relative of L. Cæcilius Metellus, his successor in Sicily, basing their

opinion on *In Verr.* II. 2. 26, 56, where such a claim is made, but in a form that carries no conviction with it. Though we may be uncertain as to his exact name and family, we have abundant evidence of the most unfortunate fact that he was born. By the time he was thirty years old, B. C. 82, he had joined his fortunes with those of the democratic party, for he was a *quæstor* of Cn. Papirius Carbo in Cisalpine Gaul. Verres betrayed this consul and his public trust, and was rewarded for his infamy by Sulla, who gave him some land of the proscribed at Beneventum, and probably used his influence in Verres's favor when the *quæstores ærarii* threatened prosecution for the moneys embezzled.

Verres took an active part in Sulla's proscription. In B. C. 80 he was in Asia as legatus of Dolabella, governor of Cicilia, and later became his *proquæstor*. These two congenial spirits united in plundering the province. Here it was that Verres acquired a fancy for fine art which afterward led to most outrageous crimes. It was probably the wealth that he stole in Cicilia that enabled him to purchase the prætorship in B. C. 74. After the pretense of an election he was designated by lot the Prætor Urbanus. And so it came to pass that Verres, noted only for his dishonesty, rapacity, and infidelity, an ignoble noble, a thriving treasurer, a turncoat politician, a traitor to his friends, the slave of a mistress, became the curator of public buildings, the presiding magistrate within the bounds of the *pomerium,* the chief judge in equity and the guardian of orphans. His administration of his office and its sacred trusts was just such as was to be expected. Official duties that should have received his personal attention were done, or perhaps undone by his tools. Justice and injustice were alike bought from himself or his mistress. After his city prætorship he obtained, in B. C. 73, the object of his greatest desire—Sicily, Rome's most important and wealthiest province. Up to that time it had been governed more leniently than other provinces, and had been favored in taxation. Even the Greek inhabitants were prosperous, and considered that they had gained rather than lost by the Roman conquest. But, great as was the accumulated wealth of the island, it was too small to satisfy the avarice of the robber. He used every conceivable means for enriching himself at the

expense of the inhabitants. He levied exorbitant taxes, disregarded contracts, plundered private dwellings and public temples. He possessed himself of their Grecian art treasures, which the Sicilians regarded as their most precious possessions. No class escaped outrage and insult, not even those enjoying the Roman citizenship. One such was even scourged at Messana on an unproved charge. Quintus Arrius, who was to have succeeded Verres in the province, was detained in Italy by the uprising led by Spartacus and never entered upon the duties or opportunities of the propraetorship. Not until the end of the third year of his misrule was Verres relieved by Lucius Caecilius Metellus. These three years were diligently employed in extortion and plundering, until he had collected at Messana, which had the unenviable reputation of being made his depot for plunder, much of the wealth of Sicily and many of the most valuable works of art. Neither the Punic war nor the two recent Servile wars had been so ruinous to the island as the lawless oppression of this official and his friends. But he had accomplished his purpose. When he returned to Rome, in B. C. 70, he carried back such a hoard of wealth that he could easily part with two thirds of it to bribe his judges and still have enough to enable him to live in luxury the rest of his life. His expectations of a prosecution were not disappointed. After his departure from the province all Sicily, except Messana and Syracuse, united in asking satisfaction for the wrongs they had suffered. The Mamertines were so favorable that they even sent an embassy to Rome to praise the robber who had made their city his storehouse for plunder. Probably the Leontini sent no public delegation, but, excepting these, all the Sicilians united in calling upon Cicero and earnestly urging him to undertake in their behalf the prosecution of Verres.

The law required that such a case must be presented for them by a Roman citizen. The Sicilians would naturally have called for assistance upon their old patrons, the Scipios, Marcelli, and Metelli, but they doubtless had reasons for expecting but little real help from them. Indeed, we have evidence that Publius Scipio, Marcus Quintus, and Lucius Metellus supported the cause of Verres. The Sicilians passed by their old patrons and appealed to

Cicero. Under the *proprætor* Sextus Peducæus, five years before, he had been *quæstor* in the district of Lilybæum and had thoroughly won their confidence by his honorable administration. He had, quite likely, been declared their *hospes publicus*. On leaving them in B. C. 74 he had promised to aid them if they should ever need his assistance. He was willing and, we can believe, even anxious to fulfill his promise. He could not but see that it would be an excellent opportunity to distinguish himself. He would be pleading the cause of evident justice. He would be on the side to win the favor of the people, whose good will he desired, as he was a candidate for election in a short time. He would also have a chance to measure strength with Hortensius, who up to that time had been lord of the courts. The case was so strong that if he should not succeed, it would be plain to all that his failure was owing to the corruption of the court. If he should succeed, it would be a great triumph over the most powerful and violent opposition.

Though the Sicilians desired Cicero to undertake their case, and he was willing, there was no certainty that he would be permitted to do so. Verres had expected that his victims would make some effort to obtain satisfaction for their wrongs, but he felt secure in the support of the nobles and in Hortensius, the *rex judicorum*. Yet, with such friends, and with the influence of the great wealth in his possession, Verres was anxious that the able, bold, and tireless Cicero should not have charge of his prosecution. Accordingly, as soon as the provincials presented their charge, with Cicero as their *actor*, Verres had Quintus Cæcilius, an insignificant Sicilian enjoying Roman citizenship, come forward to demand the right of prosecuting instead of Cicero, or, at least, in conjunction with him. If Cæcilius were appointed prosecutor, Verres would practically have charge of his own prosecution and it would be unnecessary to say what the result of the trial would be. It was to prevent just such mismanagement of cases involving the public interests that the state reserved the right of appointing the prosecutor. Since both Cicero and Quintus Cæcilius Niger appeared for the prosecution, it was necessary for the court first to hear and decide upon their claims. Each man

was permitted to show why he should be selected rather than the other. The purpose of the *divinatio* was only the selection of the state's attorney. In this first process the merits of the indictment were not in any way to be considered. We have not Cæcilius's speech. We can only judge what his arguments would be. Cicero was the first to speak, and he presented his case with great care and showed conclusively that Cæcilius was unfit for the task. The speech was a masterly one, presented in the following form:

The Introduction.
  Cicero's reasons for undertaking the case.
The Argument.
  The wishes of the interested parties:
    The Sicilians desire Cicero and refuse Cæcilius.
    Verres fears Cicero and desires Cæcilius.
  Cæcilius's unfitness:
    His lack of integrity.
    His lack of ability.
    His lack of motive.
    His having been Verres's quæstor.
Conclusion.

The court approved of the choice of the Sicilians, and Cicero was allowed to prosecute Verres. Cæcilius was not permitted to be even an associate in the case, as he was anxious to be if he could not have the sole charge. This was the immediate result of the trial; but it was only the first in a chain of events no part of which can be omitted in giving the historical bearings of this speech and those against Verres.

Cicero asked of the prætor, and was granted, a stay of proceedings for one hundred and ten days to give him time to collect evidence and prepare his case. Nothing could have pleased Verres better, unless it had been a longer adjournment. As affairs then stood the Prætor Urbanus and president of the court was Manius Acilius Glabrio, a man of integrity and therefore one to be hated and feared by Verres. The next year he was to be succeeded in office and power by Marcus Cæcilius Metellus; and his brother, Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, together with Hortensius, would be consuls. Verres had good reasons for confidence that with these

three fast friends holding the three highest offices of influence his indictment would be dismissed, or at least the prosecution would be caused to fail. Consequently, he did not wish nor intend that the case should be settled that year. Cicero had obtained, as has been said, one hundred and ten days in which to prepare his case. Verres put forward a false prosecutor to occupy the attention of the court, who claimed the right to demand satisfaction for wrongs done in Achæa. Who he was or whom he was to prosecute is uncertain. It matters not who the man was, nor what his charge was, nor against whom it was directed. The manifest purpose of the move was to have another case called before Cicero could begin his suit. Thereby the prosecution that Verres feared could not be taken up before a disposition should be made of the first. To this end, the false prosecutor asked and obtained one hundred and eight days for the preparation of his case in Achæa. This would permit him to enter court before the one hundred and ten of Cicero expired. So long a delay would be very encouraging to Verres. It would then be late in the year, and the few remaining months were crowded with festivals and games, during which the courts could not sit. The games vowed by Pompey for the fortunate termination of the war with Sertorius were to occupy the last half of the month of August, from the fifteenth to the twenty-ninth inclusive. They were to be followed by the Ludi Romani, September fourth to thirteenth; and the Ludi Romani in Circo, September sixteenth to nineteenth. The Ludi Victoriæ of five days' duration were to begin on the twenty-seventh of October, and the Ludi Plebeii continued from the fourth to the seventeenth of November. So it will be readily seen that a little quibbling and delay would throw the case over until the next year, when Verres's friends would be in full power and the case would be taken up anew only to acquit him. Cicero anticipated this move. With his cousin Lucius, who was his *subscriptor,* he hastened to Sicily. He traversed the entire length of the island and with the greatest diligence collected a crushing weight of documentary evidence and returned to Rome in about fifty days fully prepared for the prosecution and accompanied by many witnesses. The false prosecutor on the Achæan charge had not gone as far as Brundisium.

The way was open for Cicero to begin his case. Having all confidence in Glabrio, the Prætor Urbanus, and having been fortunate in drawing and challenging the jury, Cicero saw that he had a favorable opportunity and was determined not to let the criminal escape from his grasp.

The court sat in the temple of Castor, a building the very sight of which would have made Verres weak had he been capable of feeling shame for wrongs committed. Curiosity and interest surrounded the court by great multitudes that thronged the porticos of the temple, the colonnade, the forum, and the housetops overlooking the scene. The people were there. The senators and knights were there, deeply interested in the result of the trial because of the effect it would have on the Lex Aurelia, which was being agitated at that time. Witnesses alone formed a great crowd, for many came from all Sicily, from Greece and Asia, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Every region that had been cursed by Verres's blighting presence had its representative in that determined multitude of ruined merchants, impoverished orphans, and widowed wives. One villain was held to account for numberless injuries. The senatorial order was indicted for the corrupt administration of the courts. The Roman system of provincial government, and through it Rome herself, was on trial that day. Cicero saw and knew the flood of the tide. He seized the opportunity, and pressed the case with wonderful vigor. He opened the trial with a short and effective statement. His points were well supported by documents and witnesses. At first Hortensius attempted to oppose the overwhelming pressure of Cicero's masterly presentation of his case. Soon, seeing the inevitable result, he gave up all resistance, no longer making use even of his right to cross-examine the witnesses. Nine days were allowed the prosecution for presenting their case and examining witnesses. At the end of the third day Verres fled to Marseilles, where he lived in luxury until he fell by the proscription of the Triumviri in B. C. 43. He was convicted, ordered to make restitution, and exiled. At least the policy of integrity was once more recognized by Rome's corrupt politicians and demagogues. Cicero was henceforth acknowledged to be the leading orator of the city.

Verres had been accused of the *crimen repetundarum pecuniarum,* a charge that at the time of this trial included among other offenses an official's illegal acquisition of the money or property of the subjects or allies of Rome. The immediate object of the prosecution was the recovery of that which had been lost; hence its name, *repetundæ pecuniæ.* Although individuals were generally the parties that suffered directly, yet the crime in a most dangerous manner threatened the interests of the state. This was therefore held in law to be a *crimen publicum.* The case was tried under the Lex Cornelia. We cannot be positively certain of the penalty fixed by this law. The Lex Servilia, whose provisions the Lex Cornelia in most cases adopted, required the restoration of twice the amount wrongfully obtained. This provision was afterward doubled. It is probable that the Lex Cornelia required the guilty one to restore two and a half times the amount taken, for in the *Divinatio,* 19, the Sicilians claimed, by virtue of the law, a million sesterces, but in the oration *In Verr.* I. 1, 56, and in II. 1, 27, they claimed that he had robbed them of four hundred thousand. The Lex Servilia did not require banishment, but it is likely that this element was added to the Cornelian law. At an earlier time, B. C. 103, at least one man, Publius Rutilius, was exiled for this offense.

The case was tried in the *Quæstio De Repetundis.* The constitution of the Roman courts was subject to frequent changes. Up to the second century before Christ the Senate was coördinate with the assembly of the people in the exercise of the judicial function. It could examine and render judgment or empower others to act as judges. It could authorize the Tribuni Plebis to prosecute the accused before the Comitia Tributa, or it could have *recuperatores* appointed from its own number to assess damages. These means being found unsatisfactory, the Lex Calpurnia, B. C. 149, established the *Quæstio Perpetua de Pecuniis Repetundis.* The name *perpetua* distinguished it from the other courts that had been called at special times, for special cases, with some man, called *quæsitor,* selected for the duty of presiding at that particular trial. This new court was to continue as long as the term of the officer whose duty it was to preside. The establishment of this

first court of its kind meant the loss of judicial power to the people, but they still retained some of their judicial functions even as late as the time of Cicero, who, in the oration *In Verr.* II. 5, 69, threatens to appeal to the people. Under the Lex Calpurnia the court was composed of senators and presided over by the Prætor Urbanus. In the seventy years following the enactment of the Lex Calpurnia the constitution of the courts was changed by five different laws. The Lex Junia was of uncertain date, authorship, and contents. The senators abused their power by shielding culprits of their own class. The Lex Sempronia Iudiciaria, B. C. 122, took away their authority and gave it to the equites. The Lex Servilia Cæpionis, B. C. 106, gave the courts back to the senators. Another Lex Servilia of uncertain date indirectly restored the equites by excluding the senators, with many others, from the bench. A Lex Acilia, B. C. 101, either preceded or followed the Lex Servilia. The Lex Livia Iudiciaria, B. C. 91, requiring that the judicial rights should be shared by the senators and the equites, was passed, but declared invalid on account of informality of enactment. The Lex Plautia, B. C. 89, disregarding classes, assigned fifteen judges to each tribe. When Sulla obtained the mastery in Rome, he wrested the courts from the equites, who were then in possession of them, by means of the Lex Cornelia, B. C. 81, and once more placed them in the control of the senators. It was under this law that the prosecution of Verres took place. At that time there was great dissatisfaction because the senatorial order had allowed criminals of their own class to go unpunished. Cicero warned them that unless they rendered justice, a law would be passed depriving them of their seats as judges. Such a law, the Lex Aurelia, was passed the same year, requiring them to share their judicial privileges with the equites and the Tribuni Ærarii.

It has already been stated that the president of this court was the Prætor Urbanus. He was required by the Lex Servilia, which was the basis of the Lex Cornelia, to select at the beginning of his term four hundred and fifty senators as judges and to inscribe their names on a tablet, *album iudicum,* and put it up in a public place. Twenty days after a complaint had been filed the accuser and the accused each chose one hundred from this list. Then each

side had a peremptory challenge of fifty, which would reduce the number by one half. From the remaining hundred names there was a drawing by lot for the necessary number of judges to serve in the case. The specification concerning the twentieth day could hardly have been in the Lex Cornelia, for on the twentieth day after the indictment Cicero was hard at work in Sicily. Had he delegated this most important work and responsibility to anybody else, it is quite likely that some mention would have been made of the fact. When the final drawing took place, a party not of the senatorial order could challenge only three, but one of that rank could challenge more, probably twice as many. We know that Verres in this case rejected at least five, and Cicero one. The number of judges is fixed but is not known. In several places Cicero mentions twelve. It could scarcely have been larger than that number, because after mentioning the prætor and seven judges he called them "almost the entire court." It is possible that foreigners resident in Rome could conduct their own cases before this court, but perhaps individual foreigners and subject peoples were obliged to be represented by *patroni* or *legati*. A foreigner prosecuting a Roman citizen for the *crimen repetundarum*, and securing his conviction, was rewarded by citizenship. The Lex Servilia directed that the prætor should select the prosecutor. In this respect the Lex Cornelia was probably changed, for this *divinatio* was plainly delivered to the judges.

The summer months were assigned to the trials in which the provincials were interested. It was fortunate for them that their cases could be called before the beginning of September, for the rest of the year had little time left from games and festivals. When one was accused he was obliged to give bail. If he went into voluntary exile before judgment was rendered he had to pay the damages claimed and suffer banishment, *acquæ et ignis interdictio*. It is important to notice that the Lex Servilia provided for a rehearing of the arguments on another day. The exact nature of this proceeding is not clearly understood. Its purpose seems to have been to enable the judges to understand the case more accurately. Cicero says that it is favorable to the prosecutor. Perhaps after the prosecution and the defense had been repre-

sented, the court adjourned, and on a second day the prosecutor answered the first speech of the defense and was himself again answered. Such a course would be more advantageous for the accuser than the accused. Before the enactment of the Lex Servilia an *ampliatio* was allowed; that is, if two thirds of the judges voted *non liquet,* not plain, a new trial was allowed, but no one could cast that indecisive vote on the second trial. The Lex Acilia allowed neither adjournment nor retrial. To secure secrecy and independence for the judges they were required to vote by ballot. Cicero boldly made the charge that when Hortensius was determined to know how the judges voted, whom he had bribed, he required them to use peculiar tablets, with which he provided them, instead of the legitimate ones. After the judges reached a decision to sustain the accusation the *litis æstimatio* was made, the penalty was fixed.

As already stated, the trial resulted in Verres being convicted, exiled, and condemned to make restitution. His name has been handed down for centuries, loaded with the infamy of notorious oppression and maladministration of office. We, on the other hand, are fortunate in having so complete a record of his most famous trial, which throws so much light on the law and practice in the Roman courts.

Edward B. T. Spencer

Art. VIII.—SHAKESPEAREANA

By this term are meant all those facts and incidents pertaining to Shakespeare's life and writings and influence, of less or greater interest, expressed in written form or current in the shape of oral tradition, which may serve to throw any light on this unique and supreme author, or in any way increase the interest of the student in the examination of his works. The number and character of these fugitive data are such that entire libraries may be said to be made up therewith, as, also, separate lectureships have been established to collect, arrange, and interpret them. These collections and courses may be found in almost every university center, so that Goethe's suggestive phrase, "Shakespeare und kein Ende," is fully illustrated in Germany and throughout Europe. "Shakespeare Once More" is found as an essay among Mr. Lowell's literary papers, and yet once more, and yet again, will this imperial man be studied. Ben Jonson speaks of his respect for him as "something this side idolatry." Schlegel, as representing German criticism, writes that "for centuries to come his fame will gather strength at every moment of its progress." Guizot, as a French critic, calls him "a prodigious genius," while even Taine speaks of him "as the greatest of all artists who have represented the soul in words." The opening sentence of M. Taine's chapter on Shakespeare is even more suggestive; it reads: "I am about to describe an extraordinary species of mind, perplexing to all the French modes of analysis and reasoning; . . . a nature inspired, superior to reason, so impetuous in his transports that this great age alone could have cradled such a child." In view of tributes such as these we may say, as Hazlitt said of Milton, that "he never should be taken up or laid down without reverence." The study, therefore, of what we term Shakespeareana is at once invested with an interest that belongs to no other separate subject in English authorship. It is noteworthy, first of all, that the data as to some of the leading facts and phases of his life are, in their number and value, in the inverse ratio of his genius and work, such facts being scattered here and there in the local history of the

time, and so meager at best as to leave forever unsettled some questions of pressing moment. These pertain alike to what Dowden calls "his external life of good and evil fortune" and "the inner life of his spirit."

Shakespeare's early life at Stratford, dating from his birth in 1564 to his majority, need not long detain us. At the free school he received the elements of an English training with some admixture of Latin and, possibly, French and Italian. Tradition has it that he engaged for a time in the practice of law, and even essayed the role of a schoolmaster, the stress of financial need forcing him at length to London—perhaps to publish plays already written, or to be connected with some of his townsmen or London friends in dramatic work, or, indeed, to assume the function of an actor, as we know he did in Hamlet and As You Like It and in some of Jonson's comedies. Beginning his London life in 1585 as a servant and herald at the old theater in Shoreditch, we find him, in 1592, a playwright and player in the chief dramatic guild of the time, writing and acting for profit more than for fame, his advice through Hamlet to the players clearly showing that he had, in theory at least, the correct view as to dramatic art and just what the stage was expected to do in making the composition the most effective. Moreover, he fulfilled what the late Henry Irving so emphasized as the essential condition of composing a play for the stage—an intimate knowledge of all the details of theatrical method and management. Even yet, however, the material side seemed to dominate the mental, and we anxiously await the full dawning of the fact in Shakespeare's consciousness, who in reality he was, what he was doing and could do in dramatic and histrionic spheres, and what his real relation as an author was to the expanding volume of English letters. Not as yet had he fully "come to himself" nor to his great mission, for which the way was soon to be open through the agency of royal and general recognition. In Paris with the Earl of Southampton, to whom he dedicated his "Venus and Adonis" as "the first heir of his invention," acting for the pleasure of the queen and court at Greenwich and Richmond palace and at Whitehall, before the jurists at the Inns of Court, as well as before James I, his career was now successfully opened as at the

Globe Theater and Blackfriars he prosecuted his high calling. From the publication of King Richard II, in 1597, well on toward his death, in 1616, play after play appeared in rapid succession and the rare dramatic repute of Elizabethan England was assured. His reasons for leaving London at the zenith of his fame need not be examined, if, indeed, they can be known; whether because of sufficient income and sufficient reputation or an increasing desire to enjoy the retired leisure of an old English town. Such a leisure he in part enjoyed during the half dozen closing years of his life, spending his time, according to Mr. Lowell, "in collecting his dividends from the Globe Theater, lending money on good mortgage, and leaning over his gate to chat with his neighbors," it being a strange coincidence that when back at Stratford to live and die theaters were closed by process of law. At the untimely age of fifty-two Shakespeare died, a man—as Mrs. Browning in her "Vision of Poets" strongly states it—"on whose forehead climb the crowns of the world."

In the survey of Shakespeare's life some questions of special interest emerge. First, as to his education. It is known that he was not a university man. In this respect he was exceptional, as an Elizabethan author, though in company with Jonson and Middleton. In his works, however, there are found accurate descriptions of countries and customs, the use of classical terms in etymological senses, delicate verbal distinctions, and a use of technical terms common only to a scholar, as seen in his free use of medical and legal phraseology. This, it is argued by some, was a part of his natural endowment, due to genius pure and simple. Dryden says that he was "naturally learned." He had, says Drummond, "natural brain," or, as Denham styles it, "old mother wit." He speaks, himself, of his "untutored lines." Such an explanation, however, does not meet the issue. Genius itself has its limitations. It cannot impart technical knowledge, though it may exceptionally utilize it when secured. Not that the man of special endowment may not possess the acquisitive faculty in peculiar power, so that he sees more quickly than others, discarding all tuition and external aid. But the genius of acquisition is not that of invention; it takes for granted a process of training and study to com-

pass the results toward which it is reaching. Still again, it is said that he was a borrower at large, applying at pleasure the material he needed for the special purpose in hand. That he used all needed material in the evolution of his plans is conceded, but this is, after all, nothing other than securing such material by unwearied industry. He had access, as others had, to the open storehouse of known truth. Shakespeare's learning was acquired by ordinary process. He may have had, as Jonson tells us, "small Latin and less Greek," but he utilized in phenomenal ways that which he had. A comparison here between Shakespeare and Burns, each a genius and each without liberal training, will reveal the immense superiority of the former both as to the acquisition and use of literary material. This difficulty of accounting for such learning has given some basis to the Baconian theory of the plays, with regard to which it may be said that if by this we escape one difficulty we invite another equally serious, in that it is as difficult to account for the possession of Shakespearean genius by Bacon as it is to account for the possession of Baconian learning by Shakespeare. Moreover, scholars are slowly conceding that liberally educated men have no monopoly of truth, and that often, as they sit dreaming over their books in fancied possession of special privilege, these untutored minds—so called—are looking at the world of life and fact with their eyes wide open and taking in all they see and hear. A second question pertains to Shakespeare's religious beliefs and life. Here again there are extreme views. That he was an essentially godly man, after the type of Knox and Fox and the English reformers, is the view of some. Hence we are told that his plays are a kind of second Bible, as Mr. Rees, in his Shakespeare and the Bible, sets forth. Hence his allusions to Christ, the Deity, and the atonement, as set forth by Bishop Wordsworth, are magnified by critics in support of this view. The Tempest, we are told, is the dramatist's account of Paul's voyage and shipwreck. In fact, in these biblical references there is nothing conclusive, since Shakespeare used them, as he used the facts of history, as purely literary material. As he himself tells us, even "the devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." The Bible and theological teaching took their place, in his view, with all other

sources from which he drew at pleasure. A more dangerous extreme asserts that Shakespeare was a wild and reckless youth, defying all human and divine law, dissipating at Stratford and in the clubs of London. His death, it is said, was due to a fever contracted at a "merry meeting" with Jonson and Drayton; "a native wit," says Taine with irony, "not shackled by morality." Most of this gratuitous criticism is based on pure conjecture, and should receive no indorsement at the hands of the careful student of English letters. The modified and more charitable view is that Shakespeare had a creditable knowledge of the Bible, that he had been Christianly instructed and trained in the Protestant faith, and at the close of his life at least, appears as a thoroughly upright citizen and a worthy man of the world. Not a Christian by open profession, he looked at truth and duty in his own way, maintained an honorable attitude toward the church and the prevailing faith, and aimed in what he wrote to elevate the moral standards of the time. As Chaucer before him, he never posed as a reformer, announced no creed, and championed no special moral movement, and yet, as Guizot writes, "was the most profound and dramatic of moralists." Neither a pessimist nor an optimist, he stood on the safe ground of meliorism, believing that all was working steadily for the better. Despite the fact that his pages must be at times expurgated to meet the somewhat fastidious taste of modern times, no one can rationally accuse him of a willful purpose to corrupt the conscience or shock the most delicate sensibilities of his readers. Here, as elsewhere, he was immeasurably above the standard of his fellow dramatists. Such a play as Macbeth is a study in moral science quite impossible to an author who was not well versed in ethical distinctions and anxious to throw the weight of his influence on the side of truth and right. As to Shakespeare's religious beliefs and life, however, this is to be said as a final word—that they lie properly outside the sphere of the literary student as such. It is questionable whether, if asked to do so, he could have formulated his own doctrinal creed, while he lived his private life in accordance with what he conceived to be the essential principles of Christian morality. His religious personality is as

much concealed in his plays as his mental and social and civic or, indeed, his literary personality. He writes as an interpreter of general truth to men and not as a revealer of his own states of mind or ethical conditions.

A further topic of interest included under our caption is the English of Shakespeare—as an example of sixteenth century or Elizabethan English, or of that "New English" of which Oliphant speaks as representing the opening of the Modern English era as distinct from the Old and Middle English of Alfred and Chaucer. It is to this that Meres, in his "Palladis Tamia," refers when he says "that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase if they would speak English," or, as Wordsworth expresses it,

> We must be free or die who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake.

Including in his vocabulary about fifteen thousand of the fifty thousand English words then current, making a happy combination of the literary and the popular, using words in primitive senses and yet in obedience to the demands of the verse, giving due deference to the claims of the older English while fully in line with the developing history of the language, above all, using a diction thoroughly suited to his own personality and purpose as an author, the phrase, Shakespearean English, is rightly regarded as one synonymous with good English. Attention has been directed indeed to the so-called ungrammatical character of the dramatist's diction; to omissions and inversions and violations of standard structure, with consequent crudeness and lack of verbal finish. In a word, Shakespeare is said to be an incorrect writer and his English an unsafe model to students of our language and style. But such critics forget that in dealing with the English of Shakespeare they are dealing with an order of English three centuries back of us, and just at the formative period of our language as modern. To expect to find an English vocabulary, diction, and structure similar to that now obtaining is to expect the impossible. It would be as natural to look for the dominance of Chaucerian English in the sixteenth century. Historically and naturally neither of these conditions could exist. It was the shaping transitional English

of the new awakening, partaking alike of old and new elements, with the increasing emphasis of the new. What would not be allowable now was allowable and necessary then, while a part of the genius of Shakespeare as an author lay in the fact that he clearly comprehended the character and the needs of the new era; knew just where he stood, and knew what he was to do and did it. The fact that we now need an Elizabethan grammar and glossary fully to interpret the diction and structure of the plays is no discredit to Shakespeare, but the best evidence that he knew his place as an Elizabethan, the compass and limitations of the language he was using, while at the same time so loyal to its intrinsic nature as to render these very plays comprehensible to every intelligent modern reader. A comparison here, again, between Shakespeare and the minor dramatists will reveal the vast difference between the use of English in its idiomatic strength and richness and its use as modified by various classical and Continental influences. One of the unanswerable arguments against the Baconian authorship of the plays is found at this point: that, in so far as we have an example of Baconian English in Bacon's works, it is an order of English far below the Shakespearean as to its native idiom and range. Bacon could not have written Cymbeline or The Winter's Tale, even as Shakespeare could not have written The Advancement of Learning. Even in the sixteenth century an author three fourths of whose literary product was in Latin was not the author to use the native language as the great dramatist did. In the use of terse and trenchant words, in the nice adaptation of the word to the idea, and of the word to the specific character at the time uttering it, in the use of what Whipple has called "suggestive terms," in the large place given to the Old English element, and in the pervading euphony of the language, this order of English was without a parallel in its own day, and has as yet no superior. The justifiable inference is that, in whatever later period Shakespeare might have lived, he would have been as true an exponent of the best English of the time as he was in the transitional age of the Tudors.

Special attention should be called to Shakespeare's use of figure. Figurative language finds its best expression in verse,

as the more imaginative form of literature, and in verse itself comes to its best expression in the drama, so that the student of symbolic terms could gather from these thirty-seven plays alone a sufficient number and variety of figures to constitute a manual for educational use. His pages abound in simile and metaphor and allegory; in antithesis and epigram; in irony, hyperbole, personification and climax; in all the varied forms of metonymy, there being a notable combination of the milder with the more vigorous figures of pictorial literature. Even in the historical plays, so didactic in method and style, there is a rare use of symbolism, as, especially, in the great dramas founded on Roman character and life. To attempt a selection from such a mass of symbolic wealth is almost invidious, it being safe to say of Shakespeare, what cannot be said so fully of any other English poet, that any page of his verse, opened at random, will furnish some fitting example of this graphic diction, such a play as The Midsummer Night's Dream being almost one continuous expression of figurative phraseology. So frequent and pertinent is this tropical use of language that the reader is at times at a loss to know which is the controlling factor, the literal or the symbolic. So deftly are they interwoven that the nicest scrutiny cannot dissever them. Here, again, Shakespeare's use of figure rises to the plane of genius, the figure, moreover, never being used for its own sake, but only as an adjutant to the thought, to make it clearer and more impressive. An additional subject of interest is found in the study of Shakespeare as a dramatic artist—a phrase that has become more current of late by the suggestive use made of it in a treatise by Professor Moulton, the emphasis being laid on the word "artist." In the preface to his work the author writes of the wrong impression among English readers "that Shakespeare is careless as to the technicalities of dramatic art," insisting that he was as masterly in this as in any other expression of his genius, so that he really created a revolution in the province of dramatic technique and criticism. Hudson, in his standard edition of Shakespeare, refers directly to this, as he writes, "First and foremost of the things in which Shakespeare is especially distinguished is dramatic composition," by which he means dramatic art, of which he alleges there was no intelligent

view in England prior to the sixteenth century and Shakespeare himself, who illustrated in his plays that a drama is "an organic structure" and not a mere fortuitous collection of scenic material, as he also evinced an ability well-nigh intuitive of conceiving and developing character. While the conception of the character belongs, in a sense, to dramatic genius, what is known as characterization or the portrayal of the character, belongs to dramatic art, and in Shakespeare the latter is as pronounced as the former. A most suggestive sentiment from Lessing, the German critic, is here in place, that "the artist of genius contains within himself the best of all rules." Not that he is above all literary law—Lessing does not assert this—but that, the law being present and accepted and applied, the test of its fitness and force is found not in the schools, nor in this or that consensus of literary opinion, but in the inherent artistic sense of the poet himself, who instinctively accepts or rejects that which is offered to his suffrage. Genius that Shakespeare was, he was none the less an artist, but "an artist of genius," and no view can be farther from the truth than that this great thinker and writer did what he did without effort, or design, or deference to literary statute, by the sheer unguided action of innate tendencies and taste. A more laborious student and worker than he was in the days of his middle manhood lived not in London; a student in the conception and composition of plays, in adjustment of part to part according to a definite plan, in the revision and criticism of his own work, so that he might present a resultant in which nature and art, invention and execution, had each its place and were mutually helpful.

A word as to the limitations of Shakespeare's genius. Addison in his criticism of Paradise Lost remarks that he has "seen in the works of a modern philosopher a map of the spots in the sun." So even Shakespeare has his defects, though they may be "the defects of his virtues." It is somewhat surprising, for example, that he ever could have written, the Sonnets excepted, his non-dramatic poems, which, as a whole, seldom rise above the veriest commonplace either in thought or structure. In few instances, if any, has Coleridge so forgotten himself as when he assigns to these productions any high order of merit. The titles

of these poems—"Venus and Adonis," "The Rape of Lucrece," "A Lover's Complaint," and "The Passionate Pilgrim"—indicate their character as not only cynical but sensuous, even verging close to the line of error in æsthetic art and not infrequently crossing it. It would be difficult to find any considerable number of stanzas in them that remind us even indirectly of Shakespeare. Here and there we find a line or couplet indicative of the master, some of the most notable lines being justly assigned to Marlowe. It is in these poems that the charge of euphuism, or overwrought sentiment and expression, finds its fullest justification. It is to this that Hazlitt alludes as he speaks of Shakespeare's use of "all the technicalities of art . . . where words have been made a substitute for things." So Dowden remarks, in writing of "Venus and Adonis," that Shakespeare's endeavor was "to invent elaborate speeches in that style of high-wrought fantasy which was the fashion of the time." It is to this euphuistic feature that Jonson refers when he wishes that Shakespeare "had blotted a thousand lines" from the completed text of his plays. "I am ready to grant," writes Lowell, "that Shakespeare is sometimes tempted away from the natural by the quaint; that he sometimes forces a partial, even a verbal, analogy between the abstract thought and the sensual image into an absolute identity." Frequent reference has justly been made to the presence of this error in the character of Shakespeare as a wit, when, leaving the safer and more natural province of humor, he plays upon words and fanciful resemblances so as to direct attention from the thought to the mode of stating it. In these lighter poems of mere sentiment the temptations to such forced conceits are too potent to be resisted. Nor is the error confined to the non-dramatic poems. When we are told by White that Titus Andronicus is a "tragedy filled with bombastic language," that Love's Labour's Lost is "an almost boyish production," that The Two Gentlemen of Verona shows "that the poet had not freed himself from the influence of the prose romances of his early days," special reference is made to this sin of diffuseness with all its attendant evils. The greatest of minds, however, are at times off their guard, and at times purposely below their best selves, so that, all errors conceded at this point, justice demands that Shakespeare be

judged rather by his own protests against euphuism and his incisive caricature of it than by occasional fault in this direction. Even where at times he seems to be purposely euphuistic, a closer examination reveals the fact that he is acting in the role of an impersonator of character, hoping, in this indirect manner, the better to expose and condemn a current Elizabethan error. Hence we turn with renewed interest to a final topic—Shakespeare's pervasive presence in modern English literature. The statement has been made respecting Emerson that the Emersonian influence has become a substantive part of American literature. The same remark may be made as to Shakespeare's personality in English letters. We have called it a pervasive presence, a sort of a pan-anthropism in our literary product. Read where we will, we see it in prose and verse, in epic and drama and lyric, in mind and art, in English civilization and social history. English poetry, especially, is thoroughly Shakespeareanized. The forms or evidences of this presence are varied. We see it first of all in the extended number of quotable passages that have been taken from his works. From other poets we select here and there and at length come to the limit of our choice. In Shakespeare, however, we come to no end. Passage follows passage, each appearing more apt and forcible than the preceding. Some of his plays are adducible almost in their entirety, the exception being as to the portions that may not bear citation. Volumes of extracts are thus to be found in our libraries, while the way in which the body of English literature is interspersed with these passages is quite phenomenal. A further testimony to this presence is seen in the fact that the best of authors have their place and prime, and the reason of their decadence forms a part of our literary study. Shakespeare is growing younger as the centuries pass and students are now vying with each other as never before to present his work in all possible forms for popular and educational purposes. The question of the regeneration of the modern stage is before the modern public, and after various theories have been broached the critics are coming back to the only tenable one—the reinstatement of the Shakespearean drama, and in ever fuller form, that the twentieth century may learn from the sixteenth to what a high

function dramatic composition may rise. No higher tribute than this could be paid to this master of masters. In the classification of our English poets Shakespeare must be allowed to stand alone. There is none like him or approximately like him. The fact is that as an interpreter of human life Shakespeare meets so general and profound a need that it is inconceivable that his influence should ever materially decline, nor is there at present any sign of such decadence. He is, by way of eminence, the minister of truth to men, and his ministry is indispensable. His plays are not so much specimens of dramatic poetry and a specific part of general literature as they are a medium through which he offers to men what they need in the line of characterization and insight.

Of all authors Shakespeare must be known personally, must be communed with in secret by the reader himself, must be asked to interpret his meaning to us in his own way, that so we may, in some measure, understand what God did for the English race and the world at large when he gave them a man and a poet of such supreme endowment. Thus Matthew Arnold penned his impressive tribute as he abandoned all attempt to account for this imperial poet or to compare him with any other dramatist:

> Others abide our question. Thou art free.
> We ask and ask. Thou smilest and art still,
> Outtopping knowledge. For the loftiest hill,
> Who to the stars uncrowns his majesty,
> Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,
> Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling place,
> Spares but the cloudy border of his base
> To the foiled searching of mortality;
> And thou, who didst the stars and sunbeams know,
> Self-schooled, self-scanned, self-honored, self-secure,
> Didst tread on earth unguessed at. Better so!
> All pains the immortal spirit must endure,
> All weakness which impairs, all griefs which bow,
> Find their sole speech in that victorious brow.

J. W. Hunt

Art. IX.—LA SAISIAZ

The first words of this poem, "Dared and done," rivet our attention. Reading on, attention is quickened into ardor. The pulse beats faster. The mind is "stung with sudden splendors of thought." I read this poem again the other day, and I do not know that I ever enjoyed two or three hours more. Here are words, new and old, chosen with striking accuracy and suggestiveness, exquisite art and soulful music, agile and sinewy thought, intense and noble feelings, iron-forged links of reason. But, above all, here are soul and faith and God, which, carved into attractive forms and entwined with delicate art, are the mighty marble pillars upon which the structure rests. It were hard to imagine how the soul would want anything better. It is a fit companion poem of "In Memoriam," written under similar circumstances and meditating upon the same theme. But the difference, after all, is very marked. As Edward Berdoe says, "In Memoriam" is "a threnody, almost a woman's wail over her own heart, sorely lacerated by death's severance," "La Saisiaz" "a noble psalm of victory of soul over matter and of hope beyond the grave." Robert Browning always has a clear sky. In all of his poems flashes of faith are ever leaping up, but "La Saisiaz" is a brightly illuminated path leading through life and death.

I. There are some things about "La Saisiaz," as about most of Browning, that need be known in advance in order to an easy reading and full appreciation of it. Browning never takes time to locate for us the source of his rivers or to describe the direction in which they flow. The stream is already deep and wide where our boat is to be launched, so that to move along with him it is necessary to prepare ourselves for it. "La Saisiaz" is by no means obscure or difficult, yet there are some details which are an advantage to know in the beginning. The poem was written after the death of one of Robert Browning's favorite women friends, Miss A. Edgerton-Smith, whom he had met in Florence, Italy, and, at first attracted by her love of music, came to form a high regard for her. Afterward, when both had taken up residence in

London, they were intimately associated, and found much pleasure in one another's company. Her sudden death at La Saisiaz, in the autumn of 1877, was a severe shock to Browning. The thoughts arising at such a time would naturally relate to the final destiny of life; what it means here, and what is required for its fulfillment. The statement of the theme of the poem is in these words:

> We bear, own life a burden more or less.
> Life thus owned unhappy, is there supplemental happiness
> Possible and probable in life to come? Or must we count
> Life a curse, and not a blessing, summed up in its whole amount—
> Help and hindrance, joy and sorrow?

The question introduced here Browning will have an answer for from himself, without fear or favor. From himself, observe. The theme is common to Browning. Life, death, immortality, soul, God are Browning's meat and drink. They are the realm in which he lives. Shakespeare deals with the natural man, and is supreme in his realm, but Browning deals with the spiritual man. The two are hardly to be compared; only contrasted. One looks in and out, the other in and up. The one is an interpreter of man in his relation to man, the other of man in his relation to God. Still, while the topic of this poem is not new, the standpoint is. Browning generally speaks through others—Paracelsus, Caliban, Guido, Pope, Pippa—who, while Browning utters himself through them, are mediums that color and shape the utterance. In "Christmas Eve" and "Easter Day" there is a nearer approach to the direct form, and yet even in these there is some reserve and they may not be taken too literally. But here in "La Saisiaz" we look into Browning's soul and faith as into a starry sky of a clear night.

II. To get the full force of Browning's accumulative thought one has to be alert. We cannot throw hooks in here and there and catch his fish. We must get down into the stream with our nets. Not that there are not many beautiful passages whose splendor does not appear in their isolation. There are. For gems of art, of imagery, of truth, of "felicities and fancies," Browning has no superior, with one possible exception—hardly

that. Still, Browning is not so much diamond-cutter as architect. The whole with him is always greater than its parts, and every part is fitted in so as to reënforce the whole. He clears off a space, digs a foundation, lays a corner stone, carves arches and pillars, until a great structure rises up. It makes little difference where you drop down in Emerson. It makes all the difference in the world with Browning. One cannot let Browning get out of sight for a minute or he may make a sudden turn and be lost. "La Saisiaz" begins with two certainties: the thing which questions *is*, and the something about which the question is asked *is;* these are soul and God. The soul is to God what the rush is to the stream in which it floats. Whence? Whither? Will the soul continue? To argue God's goodness is to forget the reign of wrong in the world. To plead for his power is to lead us to ask why his power does not abolish wrong here. If wrong predominates, the quicker life is done with the better. If good, what need of a future? To urge the soul's yearning for God is met with the well-learned fact that many yearnings in life are never fulfilled. To assert that the soul and body are not the same faces us to the fact that, so far as we know, they are necessary to one another. To say we believe is likewise a cup whose soft ingredient and sweet infusion are spilt out by the stern law of cause and effect. There is no help in such reasoning. Personal experience must prove the problem. The first clear thing in Browning's experience is that there is no reconciling of this world to the wisdom, power, and goodness of God if we cannot look upon this world as being a probation space. The world, as a work of God, succeeds in some parts, fails in others, like man's. With good there is evil. Joy is interrupted with pain.

> The rose must sigh, "Pluck—I perish!" the eve weep, "Gaze, I fade!"
> Every sweet warn, "'Ware my bitter!" every shine bid, "Wait my shade."

If this world, Browning declares, is not the prelude to another life, it is just about half evil and half good, with no favorable reflection of God. It can be endured through necessity, but he rebels against imputing divine attributes to the creating power. But grant a future, and all is changed:

Only grant my soul may carry high through death her cup unspilled,
Brimming though it may be with knowledge, life's loss drop by drop distilled,
I shall boast it mine—the balsam, bless each kindly wrench that wrung
From life's tree its inmost virtue, tapped the root whence pleasure sprung,
Barked the bole, and broke the bough, and bruised the berry, left all grace
Ashes in death's stern alembic, loosed elixir in its place!

Even in the loss of his dear friend, which has cast a shadow longer and deeper than he ever could have foreseen, to walk again with her, "Worst were best, defeat were triumph, utter loss were utmost gain."

At this point we come up with one of the most sublime conceptions of literature. Browning sets his soul forth in solitary, daring, supreme independence. It umpires for Fancy and Reason as they thrust at one another. As Moses stood with lifted rod over the contending armies, as the white summit of a lofty mountain peak rises high over its surrounding rivals, Browning's soul rises up and stands forth glorious in faith. Fancy may get facts too easily, and Reason too hardly. Browning will not be carried away on the gauzy wings of idle imaginings, to be dropped suddenly down, nor will he lie on the ground with his face downward, like Caliban, to sprawl in the dirt. He is man and God is God—two interlinked entities in the world, with one true, wholesome, all-powerful relation—faith. The dialogue between Fancy and Reason is carried on to show once more that abstract reasoning is in itself without gain, carrying us as it does around in a circle, and leaving us at last where we began. But what of it? The heart has something to say as well as the head. Feeling is as much of life as thinking. The things which can be proved or disproved are only a small segment of this big world. That which has power, though it be outside the demonstrable realm, is for us, and if its power be good, it is the highest wisdom to hold to it. Such is the doctrine of the future life. The heart hopes. Its hope is beneficent. It is the key that unlocks the subtle meaning of life.

III. Such, I think, is a fairly accurate following of the current of thought in "La Saisiaz." With this we might be content except that in a poem of this character is the light which the poet throws not only on the subject in hand but also on himself.

Browning's writings are peculiar from the way in which they reveal him. Shakespeare was an adept in taking up diverse characters and making them project themselves, and so skillfully that one never thinks of Shakespeare being around. Shakespeare makes his characters live in and for and by themselves. Browning is always present. His name is not set down, but we feel him, no matter who is the medium, and we are glad that it is so. His mission requires it. God has spoken to Browning. No man can interpret this voice without being infused with the Browning spirit. In other words, Shakespeare would have us see men as they are, Browning as they ought to be. One is impressed in this poem with the total man who speaks in it. Browning's man is a complete man, physically, intellectually, and spiritually. The poem opens with the physical achievement of a mountain ascent. Nearly one third of the poem is devoted to showing the pleasures of physical sense. The other two parts are about equally divided between intellectual and soul demands. This appreciation of the total man makes Browning one of the healthiest and most robust of teachers. He is not a pale, secluded monk, disregarding or despising the flesh. He will not allow the mind to ignore the tuggings of the heart. Such a habit makes a man, a full and a real man, not an atrophied phenomenon. And such a view only is at all adequate to solve the problems of life. God has adjusted man to three realms, the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual, and to omit the requirements of any one of these, in attempts to set men right or improve their condition, is a guarantee of partial or total failure. The poem is a most beautiful illustration of Browning's easy and perfect interfusion of the natural and spiritual. He passes from one into the other without the slightest jar. Both are real to him, and one as real as the other. His spiritual is natural, and his natural is spiritual. Nature is not to him merely a source of illustration, as often with Tennyson, or with Wordsworth. The spiritual is not stuck on, as wings on fancied angels. He is just as religious when he is making the mountain ascent, and

> Ledge by ledge out broke new marvels, now minute and now immense,
> Earth's most exquisite disclosure, heaven's own God in evidence,

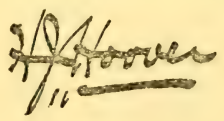
as he is natural when he says,

> Plainlier: if this life's conception new life fail to realize, . . .
> I must say—or choke in silence—"Howsoever came my fate,
> Sorrow did and joy did nowise—life well weighed—preponderate."

This easy transition between the natural and spiritual, with equal reverence for both, grows out of two things: his clear insight into both and his deep conviction that

> truth is truth in each degree—
> Thunder-pealed by God to Nature, whispered by my soul to me.

With regard to the principle or doctrine which Browning sets up as the starting point of inquiry into life's problems, Browning is not an egoist or individualist to the extent that he rejects all external knowledge. He gives a fair and patient hearing to outside voices, often setting forth their positions with great subtlety and force. He weighs and considers the experiences and convictions of the world. He consults every material fact, but only to arrive with more certainty at the point that life and its problems are to be interpreted by what his soul says, and what they mean to him and do for him as a man. He looks in. He makes much of the still small voice. He talks to and with himself, not as Emerson, who would make himself the all-important center of the universe of which God is only a hazy periphery, but himself as the reflecter of divine thought and the handiwork of God. Thus looking into himself as the supreme arbiter of thought, weighing doubts of reason, restraining fits of fancy, viewing the intermixture of good and evil in the world, and considering the demands of the heart and soul, Browning takes firmly the standpoint of faith.



EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

Among the many publications of our Book Concern none is more valuable than the Methodist Year Book, edited by Professor S. V. R. Ford. Price, 20 cents, net; by mail, 25 cents.

Henry Drummond wrote truly: "To fall in love with a good book is one of the greatest events that can befall us. It is to have a new influence pouring itself into our life—a new teacher to inspire and refine us, a new friend to be by our side always, who, when life grows narrow and weary, will take us into his wider and calmer and higher world."

Henry James says of A. C. Swinburne's prose, "He narrowly misses having a magnificent style. On the imaginative side it is almost complete, and seems capable of doing everything that picturesqueness demands." Few men who are writing to-day could produce this description of a thunderstorm at sea:

"About midnight the thundercloud was full overhead, full of incessant sound and fire, lightening and darkening so rapidly that it seemed to have life, and a delight in its life. At the same hour, the sky was clear to the west, and all along the sealine there sprang and sank as to music a restless dance or chase of summer lightnings across the lower sky: a race and riot of lights, beautiful and rapid as a course of shining oceanides along the tremulous floor of the sea. Eastward, at the same moment, the space of clear sky was higher and wider, a splendid semicircle of too intense purity to be called blue; it was of no color namable by man; and midway in it, between the stars and the sea, hung the motionless full moon; Artemis watching with serene splendor of scorn the battle of Titans and the revel of nymphs from her stainless and Olympian summit of divine indifferent light. Underneath and about us, the sea was paved with flame; the whole water trembled and hissed with phosphoric fire; even through the wind and thunder I could hear the crackling and sputtering of the water-sparks. In the same heaven and in the same hour there shone at once the three

contrasted glories, golden and fiery and white, of moonlight, and of the double lightning, forked and sheet; and under all this miraculous heaven lay a flaming floor of water."

THE MESSAGE OF THE FATHERS[1]

THE fathers of American Methodism! What a glorious record is theirs! How good to gaze upon their deeds and seek counsel at their feet! North, South, East, West they pushed their victorious battle. They conducted a spiritual campaign that has no parallel. They invaded the strongholds of sin and wrested triumphs from desperate conditions, in the "teeth of clinched antagonisms" that would have daunted less heroic souls. Most vigorous their impact upon the intrenched forces of theological Calvinism in New England and practical heathenism everywhere. They knew well what it was to suffer and be strong; they did not know the meaning of fear and defeat. Their darings and endurings amaze us. As we closely follow the narrative our tears and our shouts can scarcely be restrained. The pioneer period is crowded with marvels. The more one reads that ancient story, the more one feels that our gospel liberty has been purchased at a great price, that our modern privileges in these pleasanter conditions have been won at a costly sacrifice by noble men who most thoroughly put aside worldly ease and honor in the service of their Master. "Troubled on every side yet not distressed, perplexed but not in despair, persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but not destroyed," proving themselves as the ministers of God in much patience, in tumults, in labors, in watchings, in fastings, by evil report and good report, "as poor yet making many rich, as having nothing and yet possessing all things," in labors abundant, in journeyings often, in many perils, in weariness and painfulness, with no certain dwelling place, fools for Christ's sake, becoming all things to all men that they might by all means save some, the Spirit of glory and of God rested richly upon them, while they committed the keeping of their souls in well doing to their faithful Creator, who granted them abundant witness that their labor was acceptable in the Lord, and gave them, when their work was done, a crown of radiant glory at his right hand.

The victories of our predecessors on the field prove that what

[1] Part of an address delivered by Dr. James Mudge before the Itinerants' Club of the New England Conference. Not having room elsewhere we insert it in our editorial department.

ought to be done can be done; that, however slender the resources, and however imposing the obstacles, if there be truth and faith, there will be triumph. This was indeed demonstrated long ago by the apostolic band in their siege of the Roman empire, by Luther in his assault upon the mighty towers of Romanism, and by Wesley in England. We may well lay it to heart now in our own conflicts. Our fathers had complete faith in their mission and their message. They fully believed they were needed here, that there was a great work to be done, and that they were the men to do it. They had a cause for which they were fully willing to die. They paid no heed to difficulties and discouragements. They simply pressed on, and on, and on, and on. They would not suffer themselves to be turned aside from their great object by anything whatsoever. To that which God had called them to do they committed themselves unstintedly, persistently, prevailingly. They had a measureless love for the Saviour and an absorbing passion for souls. The mighty Spirit of God was upon them working in them and through them. They were filled with fire and fervor and fearlessness, with an undying devotion and a tireless energy, with a purpose both sublime and intense, with an irresistible eagerness to fulfill their calling. As a company of men they have scarcely been surpassed since the days of the apostles, and perhaps not then. This at least is the impression they make upon us. There was a tremendous vitality there, something electric, magnetic, magnificent. They were in dead earnest. The momentum of the movement was immense. The men on horseback, the circuit riders, were a conquering cavalry and charged home with power. The saddle-bag brigade was a thundering legion, and the lightning of their word slew multitudes. They were knights, not of a table round, but of a round or circuit terrible in its exactions and sufferings, its pains and perils and privations, but terrible also in its executions and master strokes of conquest.

And the question imperatively arises—for it is certainly well to compare the past with the present, and let history give up to us something of its hoary and hoarded wisdom—have we the same spirit? It is not a question to be easily or lightly answered. Many considerations enter into the matter. There is always a glamour over the past, a fact which we should fully recognize; there is an enchantment lent by distance; the evils of those days, the things that if better known would discount our admiration, are not clearly discerned, or are wholly forgotten. The present, by its very familiarity, stands at a disadvantage. Then, again, we must remember, the same spirit will, of

necessity, manifest itself differently, take on dissimilar shapes, under different conditions. We have no wish to repeat the conditions of the past, the ignorance, the poverty, the hardship. We live, thank God, in better times, so far as material circumstances are concerned. Higher culture and larger means make impossible, as well as unnecessary, some of the doings of other days. Still again, it is easy to confound fundamentals and accidentals, to conclude that because there has been a wide departure in regard to certain nonessential, unimportant things, there has, therefore, necessarily been a corresponding disloyalty in essentials. This would be a serious mistake, but it is often made.

It is well, then, for our guidance, it is, indeed, necessary, to inquire, just at this point, What are the real essentials of primitive Methodism? What are those things that are so fundamentally typical that without them it cannot be the same, but must be something inferior? Three things, it seems to us, have a claim to this high distinction. In the first place, *Christian experience,* personal, positive, definite, and glowing. From the beginning Methodism's emphasis on this has been its primary idea, its chief contribution to the life and thought of the church universal. It is this Christian experience which has given to Methodist preaching its greatest power; it is this which has lain at the root of its most peculiar institutions; it is this which has mainly shaped its doctrines. In the second place, there has been *zeal,* all-consuming, quenchless, luminant, producing an aggressive evangelism, an incessant activity, a readiness to sacrifice self, which made the trials of the itinerant easy and the burdens of the laity light. "Christianity in earnest" it was called, and its members were said to be "all at it and always at it." These familiar phrases go far in the way of explaining the success reached. They go to the root of the matter and when they cease to be applicable to us we shall have radically departed from old-time Methodism. In the third place we must put our system of *doctrine,* scriptural, preachable, practical, effective, and thoroughly reasonable. Whether our fathers were strictly orthodox or not, according to the usually accepted interpretation of that term, they did not curiously or carefully inquire. Indeed, they were commonly accounted, as they knew, terrible heretics by those who plumed themselves on their orthodoxy and laid exclusive claim to that name; but this did not trouble them in the slightest degree. They were bent on saving men, and the teachings that worked well for this purpose had all the divine guarantee that they deemed necessary. A pro-

gressive conservatism marked them in this, as it did in their ecclesiastical polity. They were not afraid of changes in doctrine or discipline if so be that the change gave promise of better results; nor were they quick to discard the old simply because its workings were attended with difficulties and were not entirely ideal.

Now, wherever these three things abide, it seems to the writer, we have all that is essential to constitute old-time Methodism, and to acquit us from the charge of fatal departures therefrom. Do they abide? Do they? Our answer must be, They do abide in large measure, but there is pressing need of their immediate increase. The spirit of the fathers is here to-day deeply, but it lacks much of the opportunity for manifestation and development which was given to them. Circumstances very largely create heroes, or at least bring to fruition the heroic germs which otherwise would have slumbered or perished within them. All history teaches this. Lincoln and Grant would not have been discovered, either to themselves or to the world, for what we know them, had they lived in an ordinary period. The men of '61, it proved, were as ready to die for their country as the men of '76, although before the flag was fired upon many doubted it, and no one could be entirely sure. And who can really question that there would be as prompt a response to-day as then if the liberties of the land were actually endangered? Even so, we are disposed to think that the race of heroes and prophets and martyrs has not at all died out in the church, any more than in the nation, while the generations have been rolling on. We believe the sons are fully qualified to stand beside their sires. We believe this heartily, and yet we cannot wholly refrain from adding that there are certain tendencies at work in these days which make for degeneration, which make it peculiarly difficult for us to maintain Methodism in its pristine purity, and there are certain developments which unless checked will lead to disaster. It must be admitted that increased material resources and magnified fortunes, a place in the seats of power and in the halls of the learned, are extremely liable to diminish spirituality. It is so with individuals, it is so with organizations. When Christianity mounted the throne of the Cæsars it deteriorated. An established church, as a rule, is a worldly one. We are in substantially that position, and are feeling those effects. There is not the emphasis placed on personal experience and its proclamation that once there was. The decadence of the class meeting, the falling off at the prayer meeting, the passing of family prayers, the disuse of fasting or abstinence, the infrequency of

the love feast, are tokens of this tendency. Nor have we the all-consuming zeal of early days. We see it now among the Socialists and Suffragettes much more than among the Methodists. It is they, not we, who are full charged with a high purpose which will not let them rest, a purpose whose fierce onrush carries them off their feet and lifts them above themselves, and provokes them to indiscretions. We have dropped our indiscretions, our peculiarities, perhaps are a little ashamed of them, have settled down to be like the denominations around us, have become increasingly conformed to their ways, even as they have increasingly adopted ours. Doctrinally, too, we are in some danger, a danger of losing in the midst of modern adjustments—which, however necessary, are perilous—that firm grip on the great essentials which must at all risks be maintained, and that once was far easier than now. There is still need that we sing Faber's familiar, forceful lines,

> Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
> We will be true to Thee till death.

The skepticism of the time has made some inroads, and should be vigorously resisted, not in the interest of bondage to outworn symbols or empty phrases and impossible dogmas, but in the interest of loyalty to the King and the truths that take hold on salvation.

Our problem is how to combine with our present culture and larger means the old simplicity and intensity, the former faith and freshness and fervor, the inwrought experience and outspoken testimony. A clear head *and* a clean heart, solid learning *and* profound feeling—can these things go together? Our problem is to make them; and, in these very unheroic times, to develop and exploit the heroic spirit. It surely is not necessary, though easy, to sacrifice the good things of the past in order to attain or retain the good things of the present. We have yielded to this tendency in too large a measure. We must call a halt in this direction. The demoralization of prosperity is somewhat upon us. What will save us from the worldliness and decay which threaten? What will bring back more of the old-time religion? Fuller acquaintance with that time will certainly help. Alcibiades, the Athenian, declared that the victories of Miltiades would not permit him to sleep. Are we sleeping? We should not take such comfortable naps were the victories of our fathers more constantly before us. Wordsworth sings, concerning an incident in English history connected with the wars of York and Lancaster,

> Armor rusting in his halls
> On the blood of Clifford calls:
> "Quell the Scot," exclaims the lance;
> "Bear me to the heart of France,"
> Is the longing of the shield.
> Tell thy name, thou trembling Field;
> Field of death, where'er thou be,
> Groan thou with our victory.

We, who wield not lance and shield, but spiritual weapons of finer fiber, may and should likewise feel the call to emulate the achievements of our predecessors. The past speaks, to some of us very loudly. May it speedily speak to all, and to good effect. If "the glory of the children are their fathers," as the Scripture saith, it is also true that the glory of the fathers is to have children worthy to bear their names. "Our fathers trusted in thee, they trusted in thee and thou didst deliver them." Yes, yes; and God will equally deliver us if we equally trust in him and work for him, will be with us as he was with them, so that we too may declare to the generation following us, with similar satisfaction, his mighty acts and marvelous deeds. "These all, having obtained a good report through faith received not the promise, God having provided some better thing for us that they without us should not be made perfect" (Heb. 11. 39, 40).

We must not rest in the achievements of the past, nor look upon them as unapproachable; no, rather let us learn from the past how to surpass it. In some particulars we have made glorious advances. There is a higher plane of morals in both membership and ministry. There are fewer expulsions, fewer church trials, fewer fanaticisms and eccentricities. There is less intolerance, crudity, cantankerousness, contentiousness, coarseness. We have finer temples in which to worship God. We have great universities and hospitals, and a multiplicity of institutions, of organizations, whereby to upbuild the nation and benefit mankind. But whether, on the whole, in real religion, in genuine piety, in deep spirituality, we are better, who shall say? No one, perhaps, is competent to give a dogmatic answer, or to speak otherwise than cautiously on that point. No one has a sufficiently extensive and minute knowledge of both periods, of the inward motives as well as the outward manners of both, to pronounce positively and conclusively on that subject.

But this at least, we think, may be confidently said: In proportion as the spirit which was so prominently stamped upon the church of that age is predominant now we shall conquer the world for Christ.

With our increased wealth, education, and other advantages, if we have the old-time spirit, we shall sweep everything before us. We are not bearing the burdens or making the sacrifices that they did. Perhaps we see no need so to do. We say there is nothing now which demands it. But may it not be that this very attitude, this too easy-going feeling, indicates a blindness, a deafness, a dullness on our part, and is one of the things we should most jealously watch against? Is there not a great call for heroism now? Has the earth yet been conquered for Christ? Has even America been sufficiently saved from her sins? Have all the achievements that are worth while been wrought? No, a thousand times, no! No more in spiritual than in physical things is this true. Have not the physical triumphs of the past decade surpassed and shamed the spiritual? We are mastering electricity, we are conquering the air, we are discovering the poles. What corresponds to these in religion? We are summoned to take the world for Jesus, the world at home and abroad. It lies about us and beyond us most invitingly. The fields are white for the harvest. The laborers are still much too few. More volunteers are needed for foreign missions, many more, more also for the destitute districts of the home lands, for slum work, for the wide frontier, for the foreign people that throng our streets. Ten times as much money as appears to be forthcoming is an absolute necessity if the large tasks that await us are to be mastered. In giving the funds, or in raising them, or in doing other hard things that should be done now, there may be as much heroism exhibited as there ever was in threading the thickets, or swimming the rivers, or climbing the mountains, or sleeping under the stars. The stern word of the prophet still needs to be uttered, and that word is never a popular one. True patriotism, we say, is seen as much in the purification of politics and the deliverance of the people from the oppressions of corporate greed as on the battlefield or the firing line. Even so, true devotion to Christ can be displayed in a multitude of ways. The vital question is, are we responding as promptly and eagerly to the calls of God which our circumstances make imperative as did those who went before us to the calls which pressed mightily upon them?

We owe a great debt to the fathers, to those godly men, alert, alive, elastic, apostolic, ever ready, afraid of nothing. They declared the whole counsel of God, they preached an undiluted gospel, they uncovered the pit of woe, they opened the gates of paradise with the fervor of Paul, the pathos of John, the sternness of James, the rock-

strength of Peter. They told men of their lost condition and its only remedy. They proclaimed free grace and dying love, the cross of Jesus and the power of the Holy Ghost, deliverance from all sin and the full reign of perfect peace. You feel as you study them that they were terribly in earnest, that they were not thinking of themselves, that they held their lives cheap, and lived in constant communion with God. How much they prayed! How grandly they sang! How full they were of faith, and of hope, and of hallelujahs! They said:

The love of Christ doth me constrain
To seek the wandering souls of men:
With cries, entreaties, tears, to save—
To snatch them from the gaping grave.

For this let men revile my name;
No cross I shun, I fear no shame;
All hail reproach, and welcome pain;
Only thy terrors, Lord, restrain!

My life, my blood, I here present,
If for Thy truth they may be spent;
Fulfill Thy sovereign counsel, Lord;
Thy will be done, Thy name adored.

Give me Thy strength, O God of power;
Then let winds blow, or thunders roar,
Thy faithful witness I will be;
'Tis fixed: I can do all through Thee.

This was their spirit. They felt that the King's business could not wait. Their headquarters were in the saddle. They followed the counsel which Wesley wrote to George Shadford. They published their message in the open face of the sun and did all the good they could. Joshua Marsden, of the British Conference, who visited the United States in 1802, wrote of the preachers whom he met, "I was greatly surprised at such examples of simplicity, labor, and self-denial. They appeared as much dead to the world as though they had been the inhabitants of another planet. In England Methodism is like a river calmly gliding on; here it is a torrent rushing on and sweeping all away in its course. In the great work of awakening careless sinners and inspiring the new settlements the Methodists have no equals." Could a visitor to these shores now bear as strong a testimony to our high qualities and our grand achievements? It is well for us to meditate a good while upon this question.

The fathers have left a mighty monument. When can their glory

fade? Time may mar the marble that marks their resting place, the meetinghouses that they reared may turn to dust, the records that they made with pen or type may be lost to human vision. Nevertheless, they themselves shall ever live—live in the millions whom they drew into a divine fellowship, live in the flames new kindled on a thousand altars, live in the whole Christian Church which felt the glorious impulse of their labors, and in the world, which is a different place, a better place to live in, because they toiled. It is for us to be stirred by their deeds, to be made ashamed of our littleness as we see their largeness, to be set on fire with love divine as we see how closely they walked with God. They call to us—Asbury and Lee and Pickering, Hedding and Soule and Fisk, McKendree and Cartwright and Finley. They say: "Build carefully on the foundations which we laid with our toils and tears. Let not Methodism be turned out of the channel which we dug for it at such heavy cost; let no alien standards be reared where we held aloft the banner of the Christ."

We must heed their monition. We *must*. We have a great trust. Great resources are ours and grave responsibilities. Our mission is by no means ended, either to the world at large or to other denominations who have already gained so much from their association with us. We have done a mighty work. There is still a mighty work to do. We must magnify our mission and our place among men. We must look up and speak out. Above all, we must conserve our spiritual life. First, the kingdom! Eternal interests must be paramount. *Things* must not get into the saddle. The soul must rule. Even social service, and humanitarian or philanthropic endeavors, must not be allowed to thrust aside fellowship with the Infinite, reverent worship of the Creator, purification of the heart, a life free from all unrighteousness. If we let our spiritual temperature be lowered to the philosophical frigidities of the day, we shall fail. The old-time battle cry, shouted at the campmeeting and the altar, was "Holiness to the Lord!" It still should have place at the front. Its absence is not a good omen. The phrases of the former time, it is true, were not all of them theologically accurate; the terms used were scarcely scriptural in the sense put upon them; many of the expressions we should now find objectionable, indefensible, untenable; but the experience was genuine and unspeakably precious and a power was undeniably imparted that we greatly need. We can better afford to put up with some crudities of language (although, of course, the less of this the better) than to lose the very crown of redemption and the vital earnestness of an

uncompromising religion. To be completely saved each moment up to all attainable light, to permit ourselves no doubtful indulgences, to be consecrated and purified in the largest sense made known to us by the Spirit as our privilege—surely, this is a plain duty, and on no account to be neglected or thrust into the background. Our camp-meetings once were signalized by these victories, our church altars and prayer meetings knew the joyful sound. Can it not be brought back? It must be if we are to have the highest and largest success.

Our aim must be to grasp all the good there was in the past, while keeping clear of its deficiencies; to have the burning heart without the wild fire, the zeal combined with larger knowledge, the substance of doctrine in newer dress. We must give more, and do more, and be more. We are going to. While we cry, "All hail to the fathers!" we do not propose to stand still ourselves. We mean to improve upon their example. The future is bright. Though it will inevitably be different from the present at some points, even as the present is from the past, God is guiding it and us. He has not forgotten his people, nor will he. His cause shall prosper in our hands, even as it did of yore, and yet more abundantly.

When He first the work began,
Small and feeble was his day;
Now the word doth swiftly run,
Now it wins its widening way.
More and more it spreads and grows,
Ever mighty to prevail;
Sin's strongholds it now o'erthrows,
Shakes the trembling gates of hell.

Sons of God, your Saviour praise!
He the door hath opened wide;
He hath given the word of grace;
Jesus' word is glorified.
Jesus, mighty to redeem,
He alone the work hath wrought.
Worthy is the work of him,
Him who spake a world from naught.

Saw ye not the cloud arise,
Little as a human hand?
Now it spreads along the skies,
Hangs o'er all the thirsty land?
Lo! the promise of a shower
Drops already from above;
But the Lord will shortly pour
All the Spirit of His love.

—*Charles Wesley.*

THE ARENA

A WORTHY CREED

THE critique on Professor Denney's Christology, in the September-October number of this REVIEW, deserves thoughtful attention, as do all the writings of our beloved *confrere* at Drew. The article in question contains a few statements at which some readers will hesitate. Our own hesitation, however, has in it no "personal feeling which amounts to actual distress," which our dear friend confesses at finding fault with Professor Denney. We merely put a query over against sundry statements found on page 705. We have no sympathy with "fragmental Christians, who are ever trying to relieve the tension and save Christianity by mitigating its truth and relating it attractively to the unconverted man," but we do question the statement that "a worthy creed, by the very motive of it, is not *inclusive* but is *exclusive*." No doubt that has been the controlling motive and set purpose of some creeds, but we are not sure that such motive or action has ever accomplished much in advancing the truth as it is in Jesus. One may also question the statement that a worthy creed is to be "profounder than the biblical phrase." Our own reading of history has often left the sad impression that no little mischief and damage have come to the cause of Christ by preachers and teachers who have assumed to bind the Christian conscience with metaphysical profundities out of harmony with the more simple modes of expression employed by the biblical writers. Elsewhere in the article Professor Curtis gives expression to his own beautiful and lovable personality and breadth by saying that "men, every one with a living Christian experience, must live together in fellowship, worship, and service, to discover and express the full biblical message of redemption." We greatly desire the full biblical message, but we are slow to believe that it is dependent upon metaphysical shibboleths, "profounder than the biblical phrase," on which the saints of all ages have never been able to agree. We incline to the opinion that a "fellowship, worship, and service" which abstained from all "unpliable severity" of metaphysical statement of Christian doctrine, and from set purpose to exclude from the Christian communion such men as John Milton and Charles Lamb and William Penn, would greatly please the Lord Jesus, and cause all his holy apostles and his noble army of martyrs to rejoice. Any statement or teaching to the effect that our Christly Saviour "is only a creature having an impersonal deposit from God," is as one-sided, defective, and unscriptural as that he is God only, having an impersonal deposit of human nature. Professor Curtis objects, with very good reasons, to the creedal confession of Professor Denney which is, "I believe in God through Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord and Saviour." Our own objection to this is that it is not sufficiently inclusive. Much more comprehensive is that formula which Professor Curtis himself offers "as a tentative expression of the most essential features of Christian belief: I believe in God the Father

through Jesus Christ, his only uncreated Son; who voluntarily became man without ceasing to be God, and died upon the cross to make possible our salvation; and rose again bodily from the grave, and ascended into heaven to begin, through the Holy Ghost, his everlasting kingdom as Lord and Saviour." All this we steadfastly believe, and yet would unhesitatingly prefer a form of statement more closely accordant with biblical phraseology and less suggestive of the "unpliable severity" of obsolete polemics. The following would probably accord more perfectly with Paul's way of expressing the same essential doctrines of the Christian faith: "I believe in one God, our heavenly Father, and in one Mediator between God and man, himself man, Jesus Christ, who gave his life a ransom for all men that he might become the Saviour of everyone who believes. He arose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and ever lives to make intercession for us and to send the Holy Spirit to regenerate and lead us into all the truth."

Better still, we think, would be a confession of faith modeled as closely as possible after the Lord's Prayer, and including the two commandments of love on which the whole law and the prophets hang. It might run something as follows: "I believe in our Father who is in heaven, whose name is hallowed, who loves us and gives us our daily bread and all good things. I believe in the coming and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave his life a ransom for us, forgives us our debts as we forgive our debtors, and teaches us to love God with all our heart and our neighbor as ourselves. I believe in the Holy Spirit, who helps us in our trials, delivers us from the evil, leads us into all the truth, and works in us to do the will of God on earth as it is in heaven."

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THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY

This society should exist for Christ and the church, preparing its members for all kinds of Christian activities. The great commission of the church is to take the gospel to every creature. The young people should be trained to help fulfill this great commission. How much the united energy of consecrated youth can accomplish when wisely directed! Christ has need of the young people. The church should jealously guard them for him. The greatest privilege that a human being can have is to be a colaborer with Jesus. The young people who are faithful in their various places to-day will be the ones who will be best fitted for the larger field of church work. Let the young people give whole-hearted service. The best way to possess love for missionary work is to keep informed. That will deepen the interest in the subject. The great lesson for youth to learn is that they do not exist for self alone, but for Christ and humanity.

To cultivate the physical and mental nature alone may produce a criminal. Education and information in itself does not save. Develop the body only, and you may have an idiot. Every human being is created with

a triune nature in the image of God. Let the church make much of the young people's prayer meeting, then, for the development of the higher life. In the spiritual nature is developed kinship with God. This results in education of the heart. It is just as necessary to have the heart educated as the head.

The young people need to be purposeful. Let them aim to make their church a praying church as far as it lies in their power. It is just as necessary to have the members praying in the pew as it is a preacher preaching in the pulpit. What effect has the sermon without the workings of the Holy Spirit? God has promised to give the Holy Spirit to those who ask him. It is written, "Pray without ceasing."

Alexander, the famous singer, gives a striking illustration of immediate answer to prayer. There was once a very wicked man whose wife had been leader of a gang of tramps. The eldest son was born in a coal shed near a stable. At seven years of age he was sent to a reform school. Later he became the leader of a band of tramps and was a prize fighter. He won fifty-seven medals, seventeen of which were for saving life and the rest for prize fighting. He was unusually strong and gave exhibitions of weight lifting. At one time when holding his show in a theater at Hull, England, revival meetings were being conducted in a chapel on the road to his home. One night, upon returning from the theater, he entered the chapel for the purpose of breaking up the meeting. But an unseen power was upon him. He sat down and listened to the exhortation. His conscience was awakened. He went home and passed a restless night. The next night he was to have a prize fight, but he postponed it and went to the chapel. He was converted and was so happy that he went home and brought back his wife. She was saved at the altar. Then they went everywhere telling what God had done for their souls. One night a fire broke out in the building. A ladder was thrown to the upper story and a fireman ascended it forty feet in the air. But his ladder burned in two. The converted prize fighter threw out his arms and caught the fireman, thus saving his life. But the shock left him paralyzed from his hips down. The townspeople, for his act of heroism, tendered him a medal that had not been bestowed in five hundred years before. A purse was given him that he might obtain medical treatment, but no earthly physician was able to help him. During his affliction he began to study the Bible, and after awhile he was able to go about on crutches. One night he was asked to speak at a great revival meeting. Before he began to speak he began to pray. The Holy Spirit was present in mighty power. His feet and ankle bones received strength and he was completely healed. We know that God is able and willing to hear prayer. May all glory, honor, and blessing be unto his holy name now and forever and ever. Amen.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

CHRIST'S TEACHING CONCERNING ALMSGIVING AND PRAYER.
MATT. 6. 1-8

THE previous part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount had been largely a correction of their conception of the old law. To the Jew, whose idea of duty was largely external, he had shown that the desire to do wrong was a sin as well as the doing of it. Paul had the rabbinical conception in the soul-struggle through which he passed, as described in the Epistle to the Romans, chapter 7, where he learned that covetousness was sin. It has been well remarked that when he made this discovery "the doom of legalism was sealed."

Our Saviour now turns to the correction of their errors in practice. They made their good deeds nugatory by their selfishness. The first error which he notes has reference to the doing of alms, or, as the revisers put it, "righteousness." "Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men, to be seen of them: else ye have no reward with your Father who is in heaven." In this verse he shows that their very character may be the expression of selfishness and not generosity. One naturally asks how the giving of alms can become an act of selfishness. Jesus tells them that it is such when they make it a means of glorifying themselves. His language is: "Therefore when thou doest thine alms, do not sound a trumpet before thee, as the hypocrites do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may have glory of men. Verily I say unto you, They have their reward." Whether the reference here is to a custom of blowing a trumpet to proclaim that the giver was about to dispense his charity we are not sure. Some suppose the places where money was deposited were called trumpets because of their resemblance in form to trumpets, or that the clanging of money proclaimed the gift and called public attention to it. It is enough to know that the Saviour condemned all parade of gifts. The giving should be done so unostentatiously that those as near as the right hand to the left should not have cognizance of it. For the display of almsgiving our Lord has no approval and offers no reward. He says, "Verily they have their reward." They have received, in the glory which they coveted, their full pay. They had not sought God's approval but man's, and with the latter they must be content. When one thus abstains from public proclamation of his gifts he shows the spirit of genuine love to his heavenly Father, who sees in secret places and understands the hidden movements of the heart and who will himself give to them the true reward which is God's approval.

The next subject in which he corrects their views is that of prayer. They were accustomed to seek public places for prayer—the synagogue and street corners, where their piety would be noticed and applauded. They evidently made no effort at seclusion because they did not want to pray unseen by men. This idea of prayer which he was exposing is well

illustrated in the East, especially in Mohammedan sections. The traveler in the East notices the publicity with which they perform their prayers, for to the ordinary observer the Mohammedan praying is largely a performance. Whether it is so ostentatious or not, it seems to be so. We noticed while traveling on a ship with a large number of Mohammedan pilgrims on their way to Mecca, that the punctiliousness with which they kept to the times and external forms of prayer made it seem as if they sought publicity. In the midst of their prayers they would sometimes stop to converse with a neighbor engaged also in prayer. It was all merely formal. There seemed to be no heart in the prayer. For such praying the Lord says there is reward, but it is a purely earthly one. It may secure the approval of men, and may give to them the appearance of sanctity, but they have no reward of their Father which is in heaven.

Against all this our Lord's teaching is a protest. Prayer should be genuine in the sight of God as set forth in Matt. 6. 6: "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy inner chamber, and having shut thy door, pray to thy Father who is in secret, and thy Father who seeth in secret shall recompense thee." The inner chamber is away from confusion, even of the family circle, it is a place where no one is likely to pry, and one in which the suppliant can be alone with God. The prayer there offered will be a real one, because it is not likely that anyone would pray in such a case who does not desire to enter into fellowship with God and to receive his blessing. It is the secret place where God dwells. "He that dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty." God is invisible to the physical eye, but he is open to the spiritual vision. He is not fashioned into forms of wood and stone, "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." For such prayers our Lord promises recompense—"Thy Father who seeth in secret shall recompense thee." What recompense he will give is not declared, but the recompense undoubtedly will be not only the hearing of the prayer but the answering of it as seemeth good to the all-wise Father, whose interest in his human children is unfailing. He further warns them against another error of their time, the use of vain repetitions, Matt. 6. 7. "And in praying use not vain repetitions, as the Gentiles do: for they think that they shall be heard for their much speaking." What are the vain repetitions here mentioned but the prayers that have no significance to the one who prays? It is a prayer which repeats mere words. An instance of this is found in 1 Kings 18. 26. It is said in that passage that after the manner of the heathen they "called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon saying, O Baal, hear us." This is not an argument against the repetitions of prayers but against vain repetitions. It was our Lord himself who in the garden of Gethsemane uttered that wonderful prayer, "Father if it be possible, let this cup pass from me," which he repeated three times. The threefold repetition in this case represented the intensity of our Lord's agony, and the deep earnestness of his prayer to his heavenly Father. Earnestness, genuineness, reality are what our Lord demands in prayer. Whatever does not represent this is merely external and vain. But our Lord does not

stop here, but corrects an erroneous impression as to what is the object of prayer (Matt. 6. 8): "Be not therefore like unto them: for your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him." The margin of our revised version says, "Some ancient authorities read 'God your Father,'" instead of "your Father." The meaning is the same, but the former is probably more emphatic. They supposed that the only purpose of prayer was to make God acquainted with their desires. He does not dispute the fact that they should make known to God their wants, for this is implied in all prayer. The prayers alike of the Old Testament and the New set forth petitions in which God's people appeal to him for help in their time of need. His omniscience understandeth the deepest emotion of our hearts and the true needs of our souls; he says, "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him." One would naturally inquire what necessity there is, then, of asking for that which he knows you need. Is not his fatherly heart open to supply these wants without your asking? Certainly; asking, however, involves closeness of fellowship, deep communion, love of the Father, willingness to accept his decisions on all matters; it is the child coming into the father's presence with utter simplicity and boundless confidence, not waiting to inquire whether the father or mother knows the need, but lovingly expressing the desires with a full confidence that the father heart hears and will answer. If there were no direct answers to personal petitions, which the Scriptures teach us there are, there is a delightful benefit which comes to the soul growing out of this sweet communion with the heavenly Father.

Prayer is appointed to convey
The blessings God designs to give.
Long as they live should Christians pray;
They learn to pray when first they live.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

A NEW COLLECTION OF ANCIENT TEXTS

NOTHING, as far as we know, has been published in recent years so calculated to give the student of archæology and Semitic history as complete an insight into the work done by explorers and excavators in Bible lands, and to throw such a stream of light upon many a dark passage in the Holy Writ, as a handsome quarto volume of about five hundred pages from the press of J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, and edited with the coöperation of Professor Arthur Ungnad and Dr. Herrman Ranke, by Dr. Hugo Gressman, all of Berlin. This great work is entitled *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testament.* It consists of two parts. The first is devoted to the translation of the more important texts discovered in Assyria, Babylonia, Palestine, Egypt, and other countries influenced by Semitic culture or religion. The second part reproduces, by means of wood cuts and photographs and illustrations of different sorts, a very large number of the monuments discussed and described in part one. These illustrations are in great part photographs taken on the spot, so as to show the exact form, shape, and so forth. The brief and lucid explanations accompanying them are most helpful, for by these the student is at once able to catch the meaning and to gain information which could not be acquired in any other way, at least with such ease, clearness, and vividness. The editors are specialists, well qualified and well supplied with helps and literature on archæological subjects. They have not only studied the literature most thoroughly, but have laid under contribution the museums of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The references and notes found upon almost every page bear eloquent testimony to the diligence of the editors and the thoroughness of their work. The honesty of these men is also patent. The numerous gaps throughout the volume remind us that many of these old documents are mere fragments, and that passage after passage has defied translation. Thus it is quite evident that in our present state of knowledge, much is to be desired in the deciphering of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian texts. Where the authors of this volume were in doubt as to the correct rendering of a word or passage they have not hesitated to say so. Thus the subjective and hypothetical have been reduced to a minimum. We all have preconceived ideas and are unconsciously biased by them. No doubt some of the explanations given bear evidence of this failing. On the whole, however, the work is remarkably fair and just.

The first and principal part of the book is given to the Assyrian and Babylonian texts. Of these the religious and mythical take up over one hundred pages, or about one fifth of the entire collection. Many of the longer and more important inscriptions are reproduced either in full or

at great length. The epic of creation, as might be expected, opens the book. This was discovered and first introduced to the modern world in a letter by George Smith to the Daily Telegraph, London, March 4, 1875. Since that time Semitic scholars of various countries have published this ancient epic with comments of more or less value. At first only seven tablets, or fragments, were deciphered, but soon afterward no fewer than forty-nine were unearthed. Most of them came from the great clay library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh, B. C. 668-626. There is, too, another edition, or set, of the time of Darius, B. C. 521-485, and still a later one of about B. C. 139. It would, however, be a great mistake to think that the epic was not written till the seventh century before Christ, for it is quite clear that it must have been known at least B. C. 2000. This old document describes at some length the origin of life and the successive steps of creation. The mythical and the fanciful are very prominent. This explains why much that is not germane, such as a magic formula against toothache, has been incorporated. The closing ode, entitled "The River of Creation," is a perfect little gem. We can do no better than reproduce it here:

Thou stream, which didst create everything,
When the great gods dug thee,
They placed good things upon thy banks.
Ea, the Lord of the Ocean, made his abode in thee.
They gave thee an irresistible cycle (?).
Fire, rage, dread, and terror
Did Marduk and Ea give to thee.
Thou judgest mankind,
O thou great, sublime stream, stream of the sanctuaries,
Mayest thou enrich us with the riches of thy waters.

It is very easy to conceive how a people so dependent upon irrigation and water should invest the River of Creation with supernatural and divine attributes.

The next long poem is that of Gilgamesh. It consists of twelve tablets, or parts, many of them being very fragmentary. The eleventh tablet is of special interest to the Old Testament student, since it describes an awful flood, similar to that reported in Genesis. The language is very beautiful and the ideas, though infinitely inferior to those in the Hebrew Scriptures, are nevertheless bold and interesting. The tablets on which Gilgamesh is written were likewise taken from the library of Assurbanipal; nevertheless, they profess to be the product of much earlier times (*circa* B. C. 2200). Indeed, some go so far as to claim that Gilgamesh was composed during Sargon's reign, about B. C. 2600.

Following these two great epics are shorter and less interesting ones, such as the conflict between the dragons and demons, Istar's descent to the nether world, and the divine judgment over Babylon, which recalls many a passage in the writings of the Hebrew prophets. There are, too, in the psalms or hymns, as well as in the lamentations, dirges, or funeral songs, great beauty of expression and sublimity of thought. Take, for example, the following ode to the sun:

O Shamash, King of heaven and earth, who rulest all that is above or below.
O Shamash, it is in thy power to animate the dead, and relieve the captives.
Unbribable judge, the leader of mankind,
Sublime descendant of the Lord of brilliant origin,
Strong, brilliant son, light of countries,
The creator of all in heaven and upon earth art thou, O Shamash!

The didactic poems on pp. 98ff. remind us most vividly of the Proverbs of Solomon and other Hebrew writers. Take the following:

> Do not slander or backbite, but speak kindly.
> Do not give utterance to evil things, but speak what is good.
> Do not open wide thy mouth, but guard thy lips.
> Whoever fears the gods will not cry [in vain to them].
> Whoever fears the Anunnaki will prolong his days.

As with the Hebrews, so also with the Babylonians, special festivities were held at stated periods. The 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th and also the 19th day were observed. We learn from the so-called Sabbath ordinances that the above days were days of fasting and gloom, rather than of joy and festivity. We read: "An evil day. The shepherd of the great nations shall not eat cooked meat or anything salted. He shall not offer sacrifice. He shall not put on clean clothes. He shall not change his shirt. The king shall not drive in his chariot. He shall not speak tyrannically (?). The soothsayers shall not give forth statements in any secret place. The physician shall not touch a sick man. The day is not suitable for the execution of any plans. The king shall bring his gifts to the superior gods at night, and shall offer a sacrifice. Then his prayers will be acceptable to God."

The space at our disposal forbids us to enter into details, so we can only mention the chronological texts, on which are given a very full list of Babylonian kings and the length of each reign from B.C. 2232 to the reigns of Darius and Cyrus. These lists are followed by three inscriptions of the Old Babylonian times, two of the Chaldæan and twenty-three of the Assyrian period. All these are historical in their nature and many of them present striking parallels in style and contents to passages in the historical books of Israel. Here we may mention Shalmanezer's four campaigns against Damascus (B. C. 854-839), and Sennacherib's against Jerusalem (B. C. 701); in this inscription occur the names Ammon, Hezekiah, Joppa, Ekron, and Jerusalem.

Very important are the next group of texts, not because of their contents but because of their immediate connection with Palestine and its early history. These open with a tablet found in 1892 by Bliss at Tel el-Hasi, usually identified as Lachish of the Bible. Then come two of the five tablets discovered by Sellin at Ta'anak, or Taanach, in the valley of Esdraelon. These historical texts close with a selection from the Tel el-Amarna letters, the last three being from the governor of Jerusalem to the king of Egypt, whose aid is implored against hostile forces which threaten the overthrow of Egyptian rule in Jerusalem.

We now come to the third division of the first part, which consists of

legal texts, court proceedings, marriage and business contracts of various periods, including two seals discovered at Gezer in Palestine and first published in the quarterly statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1904 and 1905. Next follows in full the Code of Hammurabi, with introduction and conclusion. This code is so well known to our readers that it needs nothing more than a mention. Nevertheless, two observations may be in order. 1. The translation and the notes appended are excellent, and there is every reason why this edition of this famous code should be the very best published up to this time. The editors had the advantage of having before them several translations in several languages, and an immense literature from which to draw. 2. The Code of Hammurabi and the Tel el-Amarna tablets, perhaps more than anything else in recent discovery, have made necessary the rewriting of Old Testament criticism. The time was, and that not very long ago, when great biblical critics pronounced against the possibility of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch on two grounds, neither of which has any weight whatever to-day. We were assured that Moses could not have written the Pentateuch, because writing of books was not known in his day, and then, when the discovery of the El-Amarna tablets proved that such a conclusion was false, the critics, nothing daunted, with equal show of knowledge declared that codes as perfect as those found in the books bearing Moses's name could not have been drawn up thirteen or fourteen centuries before the birth of Christ, when, lo and behold! the code of Hammurabi, nearly a thousand years older than the reputed laws of Moses, was brought to light. This was a stunning blow to Wellhausenism, one from which it can never hope to recover.

The last few pages of the Semitic texts are occupied with what have been termed north-Semitic inscriptions. Here are given in full the Mesa-inscription, or the Moabite stone, written about B. C. 850, which reads very much as a chapter from Kings or Chronicles. Then we have King Zakir's (?) stele, found by M. Pognon in 1903. The place where this was discovered is, for prudential reasons, withheld. Zakir was king of Hamath and La'as about B. C. 800. In this inscription occur the names Benhadad. Hazael, Aram, and Shemesh, the Sun-god. Then comes the Silsam inscription, cut about B. C. 700 on the solid rock of a tunnel connecting the Spring of the Virgin and the Pool of Siloam in Jerusalem. Here follow three papyri with the correspondence of the Jews at Elephantine in Egypt with Bagôhi, the governor of Jerusalem. The date is definitely settled, namely, the 20th of Marchesvan in the 17th year of King Darius, or December, B. C. 408. Then follow three short inscriptions, of about B. C. 300; all three are what have been termed sacrificial tarif tablets, one from the temple of Baal in Marseilles, the other two from the temple of the same god at Carthage. It is possible that the first one also was of Carthaginian origin. There is a most striking resemblance between the technical terms in these three sacrificial tablets and those employed in the Mosaic ritual.

Turning now from the distinctively Semitic countries, we come to the last seventy-five pages, containing Egyptian texts. These, too, afford a very clear view of Egyptian civilization and religious culture from the

earliest ages. As with the literature of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, so, too, with that of the Nile. The first is devoted to the creation of all things, the destruction of the dragon and the human race. Then, as could be expected of Egypt, there are numerous inscriptions dealing with the life beyond. Of these we have here the so-called "negative confession," taken from the one hundred and twenty-fifth chapter of the "Book of the Dead," and supposed to have been written about B. C. 2600. The theological or religious texts, though occupying a prominent part, exclude, by no means, lighter literature, such as hymns, panegyrics, love songs, and short stories or fairy tales. Two of these, the story of the adulteress and the seven years' famine, involuntarily recall the story of Joseph in Egypt. Some of the love songs are quite as sentimental as anything in our own day, as may be seen from the following:

> The love of [my] sister is on the other side,
> A river is between [us],
> A crocodile stands on the sandbank (?)
> I descend into the water,
> I step into the flood,
> My heart is full of courage upon the water
> The waves (?) are like land beneath my feet
> It is her love, which makes me strong,
> Verily, she makes a charm for me (against the crocodile).

We have also excellent specimens of didactic prose. Two of these collections should be noted: the "Proverbs of Ptah-hotep," who flourished about B. C. 2600, and a collection styled the "Proverbs of the Eloquent Peasant." Nor must we fail to mention the prophetical texts, foretelling the coming of a strange people to drive out the inhabitants of Egypt. The oldest of these were gray with age long before a Hebrew prophet had uttered his predictions, and they go back to the age of Snefru, B. C. 2950. Of these we can quote the following only:

> Strangers will drink water out of the river of Egypt in order to cool themselves. This country will become a prey . . . The land, as has been foreordained, will be overthrown. A king will come from the South. He will seize the crown of upper Egypt.

This volume closes with the most interesting of all Egyptian texts to the archæologist, that is, with the historical inscriptions in which are reported at great length the campaigns and conquests of Egyptian kings and generals in Arabia, Palestine, Syria, and other Bible lands. The number of proper names common to these and the Hebrew Scriptures and cuneiform inscriptions is both large and instructive.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

THE CONSERVATIVE TENDENCY OF OLD TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP

That recent developments of Old Testament scholarship in Europe show a decided conservative tendency has been maintained in another department of this Review, and the claim has in part been challenged by an eminent scholar. In what sense and to what extent the statement holds good is an interesting question. That there is any sign at all pointing toward the ultimate rehabilitation of the traditional view of the Old Testament literature surely cannot be affirmed. There is to-day no leader of thought in Europe who represents critical views like those of the late Professor Green. At the same time nothing can be clearer than that the school of Wellhausen is in process of disintegration. Not a few former adherents have parted from the master, though with the heartiest acknowledgment of the immense permanent gain resulting from his brilliant researches. Men like Benzinger, Bäntsch (deceased), Stärk, and Volz affirm, in opposition to their former master, a much larger measure of historicity in the account of Moses and his time, and especially a much higher and purer religious conception, than that critic had allowed. Here is a conservative tendency, in that historical criticism has grown more moderate, and the emphasis upon the principle of divine revelation in the Old Testament religion has become larger and more positive. And this means very much; only let no one imagine that these men show any sign of returning to the traditional view in their criticism. But doubtless the most noteworthy recent tendency in Old Testament criticism is that represented by the group of which Gunkel is the leader. Wellhausen has done his great work in the field of literary criticism and historical construction. Gunkel, on his part, insists that Wellhausen devoted himself chiefly to problems that are essentially of secondary importance and neglected the matter of chief interest, that is, religion itself. "It is religion with which the theologian has to do." So Gunkel takes up the task of tracing the development of the religion of Israel. He undertakes to trace that religion back to its sources, which he believes he finds chiefly in Babylonia, and then to follow its development through its various phases. Gunkel does, indeed, strongly insist that the religion of Israel is immeasurably purer and higher than that of Babylonia; and yet his conception of biblical religion—not only of the Old Testament, but also of the New—is thoroughly evolutionistic and largely syncretistic. In spite of this, however, he lays great stress upon personal religion as a vital force, and this fact (as conservatives like the late Pastor Lasson and the late Dr. Stöcker frankly acknowledged) is a real gain. Away from Wellhausen lies his course, and it bears toward a livelier appreciation of religion. And yet where is there in Gunkel a trace of conservatism?

There is, nevertheless, at present a strong and significant conservative tendency within the field of Old Testament scholarship. During the whole period of the ascendency of the school of Wellhausen there have been, of course, in Germany and neighboring countries worthy representatives of a more or less conservative standpoint—really conservative in spite of their very large concessions to the critical school. But these conservatives of the older generation have failed to exert an influence commensurate with their learning and talents. The reason for this relative failure is probably to be found in that they generally have appeared to be either conducting a dignified retreat or else stubbornly fighting to maintain an assailed stronghold. In this respect the conservatives of the younger generation have a manifest advantage. Generally speaking, their views in matters of pure historico-literary criticism are as free and as modern as those of their liberal colleagues; but such views are uttered quite without the apologetic tone of concession and with full assurance of their being wholly compatible with a positive evangelical faith. Men of this group, for example, Köberle (died in 1908 at the age of thirty-seven), Sellin, Proksch, Wilke and Jeremias, have made a decided impression upon the scholarly world. In learning and critical acumen they have shown themselves the equals of scholars of the so-called critical school, while in the positive, constructive appreciation of the Old Testament revelation they display a vigor and an understanding that are refreshing and very helpful to faith. Reposeful in their assurance that faith has a sure foundation unaffected by the problems of historical research, they are free to perform that constructive work. This combination of freedom in scientific research and positiveness of evangelical faith may be seen in all their writings, most conveniently, perhaps, in their contributions to the series, *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen*. It seems very probable, by the way, that the men of this younger group have been strongly influenced in the spirit and general tendency of their work by certain powerful conservative *dogmaticians* of the day—Kähler, Ihmels, and Seeberg—who in a rare degree combine freedom and positive evangelical faith.

The new "conservative tendency," accordingly, is twofold. The wealth of knowledge that has come through the study of ancient Israel in its relation to the Babylonian and the whole Oriental civilization has rendered necessary an extensive revision of Wellhausen's historical construction. This revision is in part "conservative" in its direction. But the second aspect of the new movement is the more genuinely conservative of the two—the new and bolder emphasis upon the revelation-character of the Old Testament in its organic relation to the Christian revelation. The measure of importance of the new movement is variously estimated. One writer in pleading for a "positive" successor to Professor Merx, of Heidelberg (died August 4, 1909), declares that the "positive" Old Testament scholars have of late taken "the leading position." And Professor Sellin, in *Die Theologie der Gegenwart* (1909, 2. Heft), writes: "A significant change in Old Testament research is at present taking place before our very eyes, a change which can be checked just as little by

harsh polemics as by biting irony or genteelly superior judicial rejection, a change which takes place with the cogent power of a necessity in the natural world: the structure of the history of the religion of Israel, so ingeniously founded and constructed thirty years ago especially by Wellhausen, is not only cracking in all its joints, it is indeed already done away." Lest this—perhaps too strong—statement be misunderstood, it should be added that Sellin ascribes this result not to the influence of conservative scholars alone, but also to the work of men like Gunkel, whose theological attitude is certainly radical. Sellin further writes: "With all the emphasizing, in recent years, of the need to revise the Wellhausian scheme of the history of the religion of Israel, its foundation, namely, the critical discrimination of the sources in the Pentateuch and the historical books, has, more or less, been simply accepted and acknowledged as sure."

The literary event of the last year for the *science of introduction* to the Old Testament is now this, that even that documentary theory is vigorously assailed by a former supporter of it. Professor Eerdmans, of Leyden, opens a book on The Composition of Genesis with the words: "In this treatise on the composition of Genesis I renounce my past connection with the critical school of Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen, and I combat the so-called modern documentary hypothesis in general." Sellin himself, however, seems to be but little impressed by the soundness of Eerdmans's arguments. After expressing his conviction that so serious a piece of criticism must be patiently examined, he adds: "No reasonable man can to-day any longer call in question the ingeniousness, importance and relative justification (*Berechtigung*) of the Wellhausian criticism. But who can deny that this criticism fixed the age of the several sources under the influence of a scheme of the history of civilization and religion based on the knowledge which men possessed thirty years ago, not on that which we possess to-day?" This alteration in our knowledge (he contends) must involve a revision of the method of the literary criticism not only of the Hebrew Scriptures but also of historico-literary criticism generally. In view of the problems of to-day, a "Biblical Introduction" which should stop at the discrimination of the "sources" and the fixing of the dates and other circumstances of the several writings would not be a real introduction at all. Of course even a typical Wellhausian like Cornill goes much farther than that; and the sixth edition of his *Einleitung* (1908) is recognized as the best introduction into the *literary* problems of the Old Testament.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

THE ENGLISH REVIEW (London), published in a thick quarterly at one dollar a copy, though containing no more matter than a copy of our own REVIEW, presents little that would be of value to our readers. The October number has five stories, two brief essays, eleven poems, with editorial discussions of such subjects as "Poor Law Reform," "Policy of the Government," "The Present Moment in Spain," "The Task of Realism," "The Place of History in Education." In editorial notes on English literature George Eliot is disparaged as follows: "In her time George Eliot was taken more seriously than any writer of to-day has ever been. Yet, to the great bulk of educated criticism of to-day, she has become a writer unreadable in herself and negligible as a critical illustration. Her character-drawing appears singularly wooden, her books without any form, her style entirely pedestrian, and her solemnity intolerable. Her works have qualities that make them to men in touch with the life of to-day entirely unreadable, exactly like so many heavy cakes." Comparing her with Anthony Trollope, it is said that we can take up with interest Barchester Towers in a hand which listlessly drops Adam Bede. "The reason is that Trollope recorded facts, observing the world he lived in, while George Eliot, as if she had converted herself into another Frankenstein, went on evolving obedient monsters who had no particular relation to the life of her time—monsters who seduced or allowed themselves to be seduced, who murdered their infants, or quoted the Scriptures just as it suited her. Trollope, on the other hand, pictured an actual, credible world. His observations have the light of facts, filtered through the screen of his own personality—a personality not very rare, not very subtle, but so honest, so humble, and, above all, so conscientious that he helps us to live in a real world and affords us real experiences. And precisely because George Eliot had no conscience, precisely because she gives us a world that never was, peopled by supermen who, we may thank God, never could have been, she is now a force practically extinct, and is hourly losing impetus. And she has no existence whatever as an artist. Having studied Strauss's *Leben Jesu*, she became inflated by the idea of the writer as prophet; she evolved monstrous works made up largely of her endless comments upon Victorian philosophy." The most striking thing in the English Review for October is the "Ballad of The Goodly Fere" (Fere being Anglo-Saxon and Old English, and meaning mate, companion), by Ezra Pound, an American now living in England. The author of the ballad supposes Simon Zelotes to speak these verses somewhile after the crucifixion of Jesus:

Ha' we lost the goodliest Fere o' all
For the priests and the gallows-tree?
Ay lover he was of brawny men,
O' ships and the open sea.

When they came wi' a host to take "Our Man"
His smile was good to see.
"First let these go!" quo' the Goodly Fere,
"Or I'll see ye cursed," says he.

Ay he sent us out through the crossed high spears
And the scorn o' his laugh rang free.
"Why took ye not me when I walked about
Alone in the town?" says he.

I ha' seen him drive a hundred men
Wi' a bundle of cords swung free,
That they took the high and holy house
For their pawn and treasury.

They'll no' get him as in a book I think,
Tho they write it cunningly.
No mouse of the scrolls was our Goodly Fere,
But ay loved the open sea.

If they think they ha' snared our Goodly Fere
They are fools to the last degree.
"I'll go to the feast," quo' our Goodly Fere,
"Tho I go to the gallows-tree."

"Ye ha' seen me heal the lame and blind
And awake the dead," says he.
"Ye shall see one thing to master all,
'T's how a brave man dies on the tree."

A son of God was the Goodly Fere
That bade us his brothers be.
I ha' seen him cow a thousand men.
I ha' seen him upon a tree.

He cried no cry when they drave the nails
And the blood gushed hot and free.
The hounds of the crimson sky gave tongue,
But never a cry cried he.

I ha' seen him cow a thousand men
On the hills o' Galilee.
They whined as he walked out calm between,
Wi' his eyes like the gray o' the sea:

Like the sea that brooks no voyaging,
With the winds unleashed and free,
Like the sea that he cowed at Genseret
Wi' twey words spoke' suddently.

A master of men was the Goodly Fere,
A mate of the wind and sea.
If they think they ha' slain our Goodly Fere,
They are fools eternally.

I ha' seen him eat of the honey comb
Sin' they nailed him to the tree.

When Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, for thirty years pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York city, returned from his usual summering among the mountains of Switzerland, he felt it to be his duty to make some comment on the very peculiar utterances of a retired university president whose mental attitude in general is pedagogic and whose feeling toward the world at large seems grandpaternal, and who has seen fit to present to his fellow-men what a secular journal describes as "a liberal education five feet long and a new religion three feet long"—a religion whose inadequacy is like that of Isaiah's bed—too short for a man to stretch himself on it, and its covering too narrow for a man to wrap himself in it. With the retired university president in mind Dr. Parkhurst took for his text the words: "There be some that trouble you and would pervert the gospel of Christ" (Gal. 1. 7). He began as follows: "The Christians of Galatia were to Paul a grievous affliction, as was he to them. Their Gallic temperament, that is to say, their French temperament—for they were of the same stock as are the modern French and Irish—they took with them into their Christianity. They and the apostle were to each other mutually unintelligible, they unable to understand his fixity, he unable to bear with their instability. His Christian faith was a grounded faith; they, on the contrary, were all top and no root; sufficiently devoted to him one day, he tells us, to tear out their eyes for him, and the next day, apparently as ready to tear out his eyes; at first enthusiastic, even passionate devotees of the gospel, in the form and spirit in which Paul had preached it to them, and immediately thereafter as ready to renounce all that was distinctive of pure and original Christianity and to fall back upon the lifelessness and formality of the system of harsh legalism out from which it had been the aim of Pauline doctrine and Pauline inspiration to emancipate them. They would still call themselves Christians, even while denying in their own thought and life all of that which constituted the specific ground and genius of Christianity. They were thus simply the progenitors of *that numerous class, so much in evidence just now, who keep the name of Christianity, but ignore, and not only ignore but resent, that whole range of doctrine and that vast tide of spiritual impulse which were incarnate in the person of Christianity's Founder, and which have been the makers of the greatest characters and the producers of the finest passages of history for almost twenty centuries. To draw the black brush of intellectual supercilious-ness over so much of what has been the mental, moral and religious vitality of the world since the day when Christ said, 'I and the Father are one' implies a degree of immodesty and self-assurance that is not simply enormous, but that is grotesque and monstrous.*" Referring to the church of which he is pastor, Dr. Parkhurst speaks of it as being characterized by two features, its conservatism and its progressiveness—which is the ideal character for a church or a minister. John Wesley was that kind of a minister. Dr. Parkhurst says of his church: "It is, and always has been, just such a church as any man must love to minister to, who believes both in the past and in the future, and who has no conception of any future that is not constructed upon the foundation of the past, taking

its complexion from the shining of one constant sun and shaping its forms of development at the impulse of energies supplied from one abiding root, deeply covered and secretly watered and fed. This is not a church that has ever countenanced the doctrine of 'free thought,' if by free thought we are to understand every man's liberty to think what he likes. So understood, there is no more legitimate place for 'free thought' in matters of religion than in matters of science. Two and two are four and I have no right to think that two and two are five. People are prone to forget that there is a truth in things entirely independent of their opinion of things, and that the sincerity with which a man may believe what is not so does not help to make it so. The line of truth is as straight as the perpendicular that joins the center of the earth with the center of the sky, and what is not utterly true is absolutely false. There is no redeeming grace in intellectual sincerity. Truth is the only thing that is true, and everything else is blunder, and the blunders that a man makes about serious things are serious blunders. This church, then, has for well-nigh sixty years been distinguished both by the stanchness and by the elasticity of its faith—stanchness in holding to fundamentals; elasticity in yielding to whatever new aspects of truth have been considered by it as no interference with fundamentals or contradiction of them. In that particular it has been like a tree firmly planted, whose leaves may flutter, and whose branches may sway before the blast, but through it all, relentlessly bound into the tenacious substratum of root with which it is undergirded; unmoved from that foundation upon which, with the Christian Church universal, this church upon the Square has been unalterably built, that same which was expressed by the apostle Paul in his first Corinthian letter when he said, 'Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Christ Jesus.' It is wholesome once in a while to realize distinctly where we are, to ignore temporarily the secondary and subordinate elements of our religion, and to refresh our consciousness of that which antedates the secondary and is basal. It is not necessary to be forever buttressing our foundations, but it is invigorating as well as clarifying to return once in a while to a distinct sense of our foundations and to feel the whole structure made one and solid by the unity and solidity as well as simplicity of those foundations." After this somewhat parenthetic but not irrelevant reference to the attitude of his own church Dr. Parkhurst returns to his setting forth of what constitutes Christianity: "Christianity is vast and manifold in what it comprises, yet with all its wealthy variety of containings it is itself simply contained in Jesus Christ who is himself 'the brightness of the Father's glory and the express image of his person.' Christ as revealed in the Scriptures and as still more intimately revealed by his Spirit is to this church the personal essence of all Christian theology. And it is that which makes this church a Christian church. The word 'Christian' is not one to which it is legitimate to attach any cheap signification. The New Testament is the text-book of Christianity. It is the standard against which, if we are going to be just, religious opinions and life will require to be measured.

"Whatever in the way of doctrine and life squares with that standard is Christian, and whatever in the way of doctrine and life does not square with that standard is not Christian. Of course this is not intended as indictment of any other standard of doctrine and life. It is not claiming that Brahmanism is not an admirable standard of opinion and conduct, nor is it alleging that a Parsee may not be a good man and entertain most excellent views. It is only urging, as we are justly and logically bound to urge, that Christianity takes its name from Christ, that it is a system of faith and practice that uniformly, for a good many hundred years, has been recognized as the system that is set down in the Gospels and Epistles, with a distinct emphasis laid upon the fact, both by Christ and the apostles, that the Man of the Gospels is the Son of God in a sense which we may not be able detailedly to express, but in a sense, nevertheless, which differentiates him absolutely from every other creature and makes of him a divinely open door into the heart and mind of God; and all of this is written out with such completeness and reiteration of statement through all the pages of the New Testament—that standard textbook of Christianity—that whoever does not accept Christ in that character denies to himself the right to assume to himself the Christian name.

"Now, that is honest, and plain and logical. *The New Testament makes Christ in his divinity the central fact of the whole system*, and however many particular elements one may pick out from that system, he *excludes himself from the system if he denies that ingredient of it which is its determining center.* A man does not need to go to a theological seminary nor even to a high school to understand that, and to appreciate its force and pertinence. We are not going to undervalue goodness wherever it occurs, but Christianity is something distinctive; it comprises a range of ideas and a reservoir of impulses that stand apart from the commonplace sentiments and energies that had been recognized prior to the Christian era and that continue to be recognized outside of the genuinely Christian domain; and in all this empire of purely and originally Christian thought the master conception is *the transcendent being and character of Jesus Christ, transcendent to the point of divinity.*" Addressing himself more directly to the strange utterances of the retired university president, Dr. Parkhurst says that the doctrine of a divine Redeemer, considered as the master truth of Christianity, has been definitely and urgently brought to notice by the contents of the secular as well as of the religious press, making it evident that something has been thrown into the pool of religious discussion which has ruffled its waters into considerable disquiet. Dr. Parkhurst goes on: "Now, however great the disquiet thus induced, it is one of the most persuasive proofs of our own steadfastness of faith and of the power over us of Him in whom we believe that that disquiet is unable to extend itself within the precincts of our own soul's experience. And there is more to be said even than that. There are certain results of value likely to accrue from disturbed conditions that are not as liable to issue from a state of stagnation. The words spoken by the ex-president of Harvard University are a kind

of bugle note sounded in the ears of Christians who had drowsily couched themselves in the cradle of a careless and unthinking theology. His words have had the effect upon some of us—and I can speak for one—have had the effect to remand us back to our Christ, to communicate to us a renewed appreciation of the transcendent contents and majestic appeal of our holy faith and of the incalculable majesty, spiritual majesty, of him who has made himself so widely sovereign in the thoughts, passion, hopes, and purposes of the last score of centuries. A man sometimes forgets his faith till infidelity has waylaid him and flung at him its challenge; sometimes forgets that *the personal divine Christ is the Alpha and Omega of Christianity* till the sanctuary of faith is rudely invaded with the intent to confiscate its mercy seat and shekhina. We shall be inclined to regard such disturbing pronunciamento as has recently issued from Cambridge as a part of God's plan for calling careless believers back to the full and wealthy meaning and power of their own forgotten convictions; likening it to one of those spring inundations that sometimes come down upon the lowlands from the high hills, working momentary confusion and occasional panicky distress, but leaving behind it as it recedes a fresh deposit of virgin soil out from which in the later months will proceed a more abundant harvest of fruits and grains. If we are to trust the published reports of Dr. Eliot's utterances he has put himself definitely outside the pale of Christianity. By the implications of his own assertion he is not a Christian, which is to say that he does not mark up to the standard of belief expressed by the New Testament Scriptures, entertained by the New Testament apostles, and inherited from them by the New Testament church; and it is to the combined testimony of these three that we have to look for an understanding of what essential Christianity is as a matter of doctrine and not to the president emeritus of Harvard University. That clears the air somewhat, and gives us to realize that when he speaks, *he speaks not from the standpoint of Christianity, but from the standpoint of infidelity.* And while it need hardly be said that this involves no indictment of his own personal character, it classifies him with that school of thought with which are his true belongings, and by putting him *distinctly outside the pale of original New Testament Christianity* enables those who still stand by the spirit and form of gospel truth to determine just what kind of estimate should be placed upon his confident asseverations and prognostications. To this should be added the fact that *in these asseverations and prognostications there is absolutely nothing new.* He has simply voiced in terms of strong and impressive English that denial of the New Testament Christ and reduction of everything to the flat domain of natural law, which has been continually cropping out and coming to more or less distinct utterance through all the theological history of the centuries. It is always the case that when a speaker or writer is able to put an old idea in an original form it is his idea that gets credited with originality instead of the terms in which he states the idea. But even so the attention drawn to his oracular pronunciamento is due less to the mode in which he has stated his infidel views than to the distinction he has gained in quite other departments

of study and research—departments, I have no hesitation in saying, which endow him with no exceptional qualification for speaking with authority along lines of spiritual truth. This is not the first time that a man of extraordinary ability, who has learned to know one thing thoroughly well, thinks himself thereby justified in indoctrinating his contemporaries upon matters to which he has not especially devoted himself and of which he knows no more than they, and possibly, sometimes, not as much. Any man who knows anything, unless he knows it in a very modest way, is liable to think that he knows more than he does. Human nature is peculiar and we all have it. This tendency illustrated by the ex-president of Harvard University, of attempting to sound the depths of spiritual reality with the plumb-line of scientific thought, is not a new one, and proceeds upon the false assumption that there is nothing in the world too fine to escape the detection and the appreciation of disciplined intellect. There is a great deal that comes into life which never entered there along any logical roadway of refined and exquisite thinking. The heart too has reasons of which the brain knows nothing. Discipline of a certain kind disqualifies, more than it qualifies, for the discovery of the best which life has to give and the best which it is competent to receive. There is a close kind of ratiocination which, while it opens the smaller doors of discovery, slams to with a bang doors that are larger. A man whose principal function of discernment is of the cerebral order will create for himself and for others a world whose very flatness makes it easily intelligible and the simplicity of whose arrangements makes facile appeal to the unambitious sense of what is systematized and methodical; but such a world is not an interesting world. It is not a world that nourishes long thoughts, high aims, and the sweetest nobility of life. It takes clouds as well as transparent sunshine to make out God's world, and stars to glimmer in the firmament as well as candles and lanterns to shed ambiguous patches of light on the ground, in order to complete a universe that will measure up to the requirements of the soul. In the natural world the best part of any landscape is that point along the edge of the world where the things that are visible shade off and melt away into the unseen. The fault with the kind of religious philosophizing to which we have recently been treated is that it imprisons the spirit within a horizon that is near and that is so sharply lined as to discourage suspicion that there is much of anything beyond the horizon. And a small flat world makes small flat souls. A world furnished with no broad ocean transforms human spirits into patches of Sahara. It is therefore that history, when it has moved forward, has moved under the shepherding guidance of men and women whose presentiments outran the slow pace of analytical thought, and whose experiences were able to maintain themselves at an altitude to which unwinged logic was incompetent to soar. The great things of the past centuries have been done at the impulse and inspiration of convictions and experiences for which there is no place allowed in the four-cornered scheme of the Cambridge oracle. Our Teutonic ancestors were brought out of the woods into civilization by men whose consciences grasped upon a higher law than any enacted

by the legislature of nature and whose fealty was to the same Christ that transformed Saul into Paul, and that has been the presiding genius of those souls that have shone with the warmest fervor and the purest light during all these centuries. In a biographical sketch recently published, in which reference is made to Henry Ward Beecher, Charles G. Finney and Theodore Parker, all of whom stood out distinct before the public eye about the middle of the last century, the writer says: 'Plymouth Church, which Mr. Beecher founded, is still a prosperous church, whose pastor addresses nearly as large congregations as did Mr. Beecher; Oberlin College, which Dr. Finney founded, is one of the great universities of America, with an apparently illimitable influence before it. The congregation of Theodore Parker disappeared at his death; and the only material monument to his name is the centenary edition of his works.' With as *hard, bloodless, and visionless a philosophy as has just been oracularly offered to our acceptance* we should have no Young Men's Christian Associations, no Salvation Army, no missionaries wearing out their lives on the frontier or making their blood an offering on the altar of Christian sacrifice. Said to me recently, the secretary of one of our foreign missionary boards: 'We have thousands of missionaries that leave home and comforts behind them to go abroad and preach a Christed gospel, but I have no record of anyone who has the enthusiasm to go to the heathen and proclaim to them a Christless philosophy.' A tree is known by its fruits. The test of value is its producing energy. *The sweetest thoughts embalmed in literature, the finest lives recorded in the annals of human biography, the most thrilling passages in the progress of the world's history, have been God's gift to the world through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. By every argument deducible from the past, by every reason derivable from the tenderest and strongest experience of those whose vision has pressed most deeply into the mysteries of the spiritual world, our loving faith cannot falter in its loyalty to the divine Christ. By him we stand and to him will we continue to render the tribute of our love and confidence, our service, and our praise.*"

Ex-President Eliot, writing to an Indiana attorney, Douglas Robbins, in reply to the lawyer's criticism of his "New Religion," said: "Jesus will be in the religion of the future, not less but more than in the Christianity of the past." That statement is truer than its author means or realizes. Jesus *will be* more and more the heart and center of religion in the future, not as the Unitarian's good man, teacher, and exemplar, but as the divine Christ who is, as Dr. Parkhurst says, the Alpha and Omega of the Christian system, the Lord our Saviour, blessed and only Potentate, King of kings and Lord of lords, "worthy at all times of worship and wonder." Any gospel less than this is inadequate and not worth preaching.

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

Christianity is Christ. By W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D., Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. 16mo, pp. 128. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, 40 cents, net.

We heartily commend to our readers this little handbook, which aims to present in short popular form the substance of what has been written in recent years on the central subject of Christianity—the Person and Work of Christ. Opposition to Christianity is now centering itself upon Christ's personality. This compact and inexpensive volume is a summary of the Christian position as stated by its leading modern exponents. This is one of the series of "Anglican Church Handbooks" published by the Longmans firm. Christianity is the only religion in the world which rests on the Person of its Founder. Christianity is so inextricably bound up with Christ that our view of the Person of Christ involves and determines our view of Christianity. "What think ye of Christ?" is the crucial problem and the decisive test to-day, as it has been all through the centuries. With sure instinct, both the followers and the opponents of Christianity perceive this. Here is the point of the enemy's attack, and here we must make our defense. The fundamental issue is this: Is Jesus Christ God? There is no real alternative between an affirmative reply to that question and the removal of Jesus Christ from the supreme place which he has occupied in the Christian Church through the centuries. At this point Christianity, as it has been known through the ages, stands or falls. Carlyle recognized this when he said, "Had this doctrine of the divinity of Christ been lost, Christianity would have vanished like a dream." So, also, Lecky truly says: "Christianity is not a system of morals; it is the worship of a Person." Napoleon said, "I know men, and Jesus Christ is not a man." Bushnell said truly, "The character of Jesus Christ forbids his possible classification with men." John Stuart Mill said that Christ is "a unique Figure, not more unlike all his predecessors than all his followers." From Dr. Warfield this is quoted: "Grant that Jesus was really God, in a word, and everything falls orderly into its place. Deny it, and you have a Jesus and a Christianity on your hands both equally unaccountable: and that is as much as to say that the ultimate proof of the Deity of Christ is just—Jesus and Christianity. If Christ were not God, we should have a very different Jesus and a very different Christianity. And that is the reason that modern unbelief bends all its energies in a vain effort to abolish the historical Jesus and to destroy historical Christianity. Its instinct is right, but its task is hopeless. We need the Jesus of history to account for the Christianity of history. And we need both the Jesus of history and the Christianity of history to account for the history of the world. The history of the world is the product of that precise Christianity which has actually existed, and this Christianity is the product of the precise Jesus which actually was. To be rid of this Jesus we must be

rid of this Christianity, and to be rid of this Christianity we must be rid of the world-history which has grown out of it. We must have the Christianity of history and the Jesus of history, or we leave the world that exists, and as it exists, unaccounted for. But so long as we have either the Jesus of history or the Christianity of history we shall have a divine Jesus." Jesus Christ gives to Christianity its manifold superiority over all other faiths. Sir Edwin Arnold having been criticised for undue admiration of Hindu philosophy and religion replied: "For me Christianity is the crowned queen of religions, and immensely superior to every other. I would not give away one verse of Christ's Sermon on the Mount for twenty epic poems like the Mahabharata, nor exchange Christ's Golden Rule for twenty new Upanishads." The chapter on the "Resurrection of Christ" contains this story: "Lord Lyttleton and his friend Gilbert West left the university at the close of one academic year, each determining to give attention respectively during the long vacation to the conversion of Saint Paul and the resurrection of Christ, with a view to proving the baselessness of both. They met again in the autumn and compared experiences. Lord Lyttleton had become convinced of the truth of Paul's conversion, and Gilbert West of the truth of Christ's resurrection." If, therefore, says our author, Paul's twenty-five years of service and suffering for Jesus Christ was a reality, then his conversion was true, for everything he did began with and flowed from that sudden and mighty change. And if his conversion was true, then Jesus Christ rose from the dead; for everything Paul was and did he attributed to his sight of the risen Christ, and the burden of all his preaching was Jesus and the resurrection." The following story is also given: "A well-known American scholar in his early ministry many years ago preached a course of sermons on the resurrection, in which he stated and tested the various arguments to the fullest extent of his power. There was present in his audience an eminent lawyer, the head of the legal profession in the city. He listened to the preacher Sunday by Sunday as he marshaled proofs, weighed evidence, considered objections, analyzed the stories of the Gospels, and stated the case for the resurrection. At length the conclusion was drawn by the preacher that Christianity must be true since Jesus was raised from the dead. At the close of the last sermon the lawyer went to see the minister and said: 'I am a lawyer; I have listened to your statement of the case; I consider it incontrovertible, but *this case demands a verdict*. This is no mere intellectual conflict; there is life in it. If Jesus Christ rose from the dead, his religion is true, and we must submit to it.' The lawyer was as good as his word and became a Christian." Dr. Thomas's valuable book concludes thus: "We see, then, that Christ is essential, Christ is fundamental, Christ is all. We may, like some, reject him. We may, like others, be impressed and attracted without definitely yielding to him. Or we may be intellectually convinced and yet try to evade him. But the one thing we cannot do is to ignore him. 'What think ye of Christ?' is a question that has to be answered. 'What shall I do with Jesus?' is a question that cannot be avoided. The question is far too serious to be ignored even if we could do so. The remarkable fact about Christ is that, unlike every other founder

of religion, he cannot possibly be overlooked. Even the attempt to ignore him is in reality a confession of an opinion about him. Indifferentism is possible about many things, but absolutely impossible about Christ. Christ's call to the soul is fourfold: Come unto Me, Learn of Me, Follow Me, Abide in Me. Come unto Me as Redeemer; Learn of Me as Teacher; Follow Me as Master; Abide in me as Life. And all that is required of us is the one sufficient and inclusive attitude of soul which the New Testament knows as faith (*πιστεύειν εἰς*). This attitude and response of trust, self-surrender, dependence, is the essential attitude and response of the soul of man to God. Every sincere man knows full well the impossibility of realizing his true life in isolation, apart from God. Faith as man's response to God forever puts an end to the spiritual helplessness and hopelessness of the solitary man. It introduces him to a new relationship to God in Christ, and opens the door to the coming of the Holy Spirit of light and life. It is the means whereby the needed strength, satisfaction, and security come to the soul from fellowship with God. Faith introduces the soul into a new world of blessed fellowship, uplifting motives, satisfying experiences, and spiritual powers, and from the moment the attitude of trust is taken up the Holy Spirit begins his work of revealing Jesus Christ to the soul. He brings into the heart the assurance of forgiveness and deliverance from the burden of the past, he bestows on the soul the gift of the divine life, and then he commences a work that is never finished in this life of assimilating our lives to that of Christ, working in us that Christlikeness which is the essential and unique element of the gospel ethic. In the deep and dim recesses of our personality the Holy Spirit works his blessed and marvelous way, transfiguring character, uplifting ideals, inspiring hopes, creating joys, and providing perfect satisfaction. And as we continue to maintain and deepen the attitude of faith the Holy Spirit is enabled to do his work and we are enabled to receive more of his grace, 'That we might receive the promise of the Spirit through *faith*' (Gal. 3. 14). By every act of trust and self-surrender we receive ever larger measures of the life of Christ, and all the while we are being changed into the image of Christ 'from glory to glory' by the Spirit of the Lord." At the very end are Whittier's adoring lines:

Apart from thee all gain is loss,
All labor vainly done;
The solemn shadow of thy Cross
Is better than the sun.

Alone, O Love ineffable,
Thy saving Name is given;
To turn aside from thee is hell,
To walk with thee is heaven.

We faintly hear, we dimly see,
In differing phrase we pray;
But, dim or clear, we own in Thee
The Light, the Truth, the Way.

The Christian Ministry and the Social Order. Lectures Delivered at Yale Divinity School. 1908-1909. Edited by CHARLES S. MACFARLAND. Crown 8vo, pp. 303. New Haven (Connecticut): Yale University Press. Price, cloth, $1.50.

THE designated scope of these lectures reminds us of the proposal of a certain Englishman named Buckingham, that a ship be provided and manned for him "to investigate the world." It is matter of record that he obtained subscriptions for this project from several notable persons, but that he disappeared with the money without fulfilling his ambitious enterprise. We cannot restrain the feeling that, if any considerable number of young ministers were to attempt to put into execution all the suggestions contained in this book, the majority of them would fall into intellectual bankruptcy and physical exhaustion, to say nothing of spiritual depletion. The exactions of the ministry in our day surpass those of any other profession whatsoever, and great care should be exercised lest the apparent exigencies of modern civilization be permitted to put an undue strain upon men who are already carrying burdens almost too great for them to bear. The editor of this volume, who is also one of its most important contributors, perceives this peril, and admonishes his auditors to beware of a ministry which is too miscellaneous. "I shall fail of my object," he says, "if I lead you to suppose that you are to dissipate your forces and spread yourselves out thin." Yet it is difficult to see how the average minister can avoid this catastrophe if he follows the advices of this author to the letter. For the minister he describes is "a man to be reckoned with in every great movement, a man to be consulted upon all important questions affecting the life of the people, a dominant force in the making and the molding of the democratic order." That these are not general terms, simply raising an ideal to charm the imagination of ambitious ministers, is evident from the specifications and illustrations which follow. "There may be no other gospels than the gospel of Jesus Christ; for his was the gospel, not of the church, but of the kingdom. But there are other gospels than that which the church herself has directly taught. There is the great gospel of Labor; every Sunday afternoon, all over the world, great bodies of men are getting together and are preaching this gospel and loving this gospel of theirs. . . . . There is also the great gospel of Socialism. Men and women are even gathering together their Socialist Sunday schools all over the land. This, too, is a splendid gospel, whatever we may say of its limited equipment, of its mistaken means and methods. . . . There are these and countless others. The gospel of Anti-Tuberculosis, the gospel of the Fraternal Orders; such and many others we must think about, nay, more, we must have our part and place in them. It is all these, together with the gospel of the church, that make up what Christ calls, in the light of his infinite vision, the kingdom of God. My thesis, then, is that the minister is to become the minister, the guide, the director of all these great movements of mankind." In order that this may be accomplished, the lecturer declares, "The Christian Church ought to become a great clearing house for all these humanitarian transactions." This necessitates a theory of the true basis of church membership which is unconventional, to say the

least. "What is the church for?" asks the speaker, and answers: "To help men live right. How, then, can we do it best? By having them on the inside or by keeping them on the outside, by exclusion and probation, or by fellowship with them? . . . It will take only a little thought to show us that the church must have an absolutely open door, without any conditions whatever to its entrance." This contention the author argues with much eloquence, but he admits the difficulty of convincing large bodies of Christians that it is a justifiable policy. "You will find, if you go out inspired by some such conception as this, that you will need to create in your people a very new conception of the church and the ministry. You must show them that you are not there just to serve and run about for them, but that you and they are there together to serve the world. They will not see this at first; they will want you to give yourself, your time, your talents, to a great many very small things in their behalf. You must give them a larger view." Doubtless, there are many congregations which need this teaching, but just as surely there are some ministers who do not require it, being already too prone to refrain from performing the prior obligations of a pastor to his immediate flock. Having determined the broadest possible policy for the church, it next becomes necessary to inquire how the minister who is imbued with these new conceptions, and who has been trained for his immense task in a thoroughly up-to-date theological seminary, shall get himself into influential relations with the heterogeneous constituency of his enlarged parish. "How is the minister to get access to all these elements of democracy?" He is to be, "in the higher sense of the term, an opportunist." Having acquired some knowledge of foreign languages, he is to conduct funeral services in alien tongues, for such as will be gratified thereby. He is to claim every man who has no church relations as his own parishioner, and address pastoral epistles to him as such. He is to get the men of the community together for social intercourse and the discussion of public questions, preferably in the minister's home and with such accompaniments as are acceptable to men. He is to put himself always at the service of the people, announcing that "he will respond to any request of any kind. He will call, upon request or suggestion, for any purpose desired." He is to use the newspapers industriously, and through them he is to make it clear to the public that he is "the open champion of popular and righteous democratic causes." He is to "say a good word for the Jews. Get in touch with the black men." He is to employ his pulpit to commend "the work of the various servants of human society." He is to mingle with the teachers of the public schools, to invite the graduating class of the high school to hear him "preach them an annual sermon." He is to "father such institutions as the Grand Army of the Republic." He is to "drop in on the firemen and policemen once in awhile." He is to apply himself to rescue mission work. "Keep in association with the Salvation Army." These are only casual suggestions. There are other methods which will occur to the ingenious opportunist. The results will justify the expenditure of time and effort. Among other things this line of procedure "will give you power and votes when you are called upon

to participate in political life and civic reform. As society is now constituted you will be almost a cipher in moving and molding the moral social order, unless you become a vital factor in the background of political life. . . . . You are not to leave political life to be dominated by wretched selfish demagogues. You are to contest political leadership with them." This is a large program, but it is amplified to more appalling proportions by the further suggestions of this lecturer and others who contribute to the volume. These include the mastery of the whole labor problem, a personal identification of oneself with the International Peace Movement and other world-wide reforms, and, indeed, the distribution of one's interest and effort to everything which seeks the amelioration of misery and the general improvement of civilization. All this is very fine, and points to a high ideal for the modern Protestant minister. But as a working plan it applies only to the exceptional minister confronted by an exceptional situation. The principles involved in it are admirable, and have always been adopted, within reasonable limits, by successful preachers. But for the majority of men this bill of particulars is too exhaustive. The editor of this volume, Dr. Charles S. Macfarland, is pastor of a Congregational church in a large manufacturing city. He has been able to do all the things he mentions in this book, and others which are not catalogued. But it is unwarranted assumption to suppose that many men can approach his measure. If they will emulate his spirit in such practical ways as are open to them in conjunction with the first and undeniable demands of their immediate pastorate, they will be doing all that can reasonably be asked of them. One of the sanest and most suggestive lectures in this series was delivered by the Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr., on "The Essentials of a Ministry to Men." He urges the importance of wide and varied knowledge of books and men, but protests against the minister supposing himself to be a cyclopædia of all wisdom. He insists that the discreet minister will make himself a specialist on one or two phases of the current social awakening. "The minister who thinks that he can speak authoritatively on the solution of the liquor problem, and on biblical criticism, and on educational reform, and on the organization of industry, and on the race issue, can be found in every community. But as a matter of fact, I only know two or three ministers who have studied any one of these questions really deeply. . . . If you men make religion your master passion, your major, as you should in your ministry, and if you take up as your minor some one social field, such as the liquor question, industrial education, or child labor, and study it thoroughly, you will speak with power, and your ministry will be richer in results than if you scatter over a broad field." That is sound advice in an age when all our younger ministers are tempted to speak on every social and economic question from insufficient data and with inadequate training. Great emphasis is laid upon the importance of the minister acquainting himself with the causes and methods of the labor movement by almost every lecturer in this course, and all are specialists. Mr. Henry Sterling, a compositor on a Boston paper, contributes two illuminating addresses from the standpoint of the union man. Mr. John Mitchell, the famous

labor leader, presents "An Exposition and Interpretation of the Trade Union Movement," and does it most admirably. The Rev. Edwin B. Robinson, who is the successful pastor of a church located in the manufacturing section of a Massachusetts city, discusses "The Church and the Wage-Earner." Dr. Macfarland speaks of "The Opportunity of the Minister in Relation to Industrial Organizations." These are noteworthy papers, and they tell the exact truth when they say that the vast majority of ministers and congregations have no adequate conception of the aspirations of workingmen as expressed in the labor movement, and little understanding of the methods employed to attain their ends. Dr. Macfarland informs us that he was reared in the home of a wage-earner, and that after some experience as a workingman he became an employer of labor. It was what he saw and felt in these relations which largely determined his present work. He describes himself as moved by "the moral heartache caused by the necessity, through an unfeeling and inhuman business competition, that seemed to force me to win my own living at the expense of men and women working night and day for the miserable pittance which business competition allowed them. And that is one reason why I came to Yale Divinity School. I saw the need of the gospel I try to preach." The reader of these addresses will be convinced that, in addition to the minister's fundamental business of getting men regenerated as individuals, there is laid upon him the necessity of getting them converted to a sense of their social obligations. There are valuable papers in this volume on "The Opportunity and Mission of the Church and Ministry among Non-English-Speaking People," "The Minister and the Rural Community," "The Ministry of Mental Healing," and "The Minister in Association with International Movements," the last being a contribution by the Rev. Frederick Lynch, a prominent member of the Peace Society of the City of New York. A careful perusal of this book cannot fail to have a stimulating effect upon the minds and consciences of those who are seeking to realize the broader opportunities of Christian service.

The City With Foundations. By JOHN EDGAR MCFADYEN. Crown 8vo, pp. 254. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.25, net.

TWENTY-SIX talks, varying in length, on subjects suggested by texts of Holy Scripture. Dr. McFadyen, of Toronto, is well known to our readers by his volumes on The Prayers of the Bible, Old Testament Criticism and the Christian Church, and Introduction to the Old Testament. We present one of the shortest of these chapters as a specimen of matter and style. It is entitled "Bidding Good-By to God," and is suggested by the words, "Go thy way for this time."

"What would you think of a man who had plainly heard the voice of God—heard it so plainly that it made him tremble—and who yet had the awful courage to reply, 'Go away for the present. When I have a convenient season, I will send for thee'? We hold our breath at the very thought of such stupid, lordly defiance of Almighty God; and then we breathe more freely again as we bethink ourselves that such a thing could

not be. It could not be? Nay, but it has been. There was a man who rolled those very words off his thoughtless tongue, and there are other men—have we not ourselves been among them?—who have cherished such thoughts in our hearts, and sighed for God to go away, though the blasphemous words may never actually have crossed our lips.

"Felix was the man—the cruel, the powerful, the gorgeous Felix. Beside him is a prisoner speaking to him with deadly earnestness of a judgment to come. The voice is Paul's, but the words are God's, and they smite with terror into his seared Roman conscience. Paul is right, God is right, and Felix can stand it no longer. 'Go away,' he says, in a sudden access of terror. 'Go away for the present. When I have a convenient season, I will send for thee.' It is to Paul that he is speaking, but what are those awful words but a tragic farewell to God—the God who was pleading with him through the mighty presence of Paul?

"What a prayer! 'O God! go away.' It is a fearful thing to bid good-by to God, but O, the presumption, the pathetic, the unspeakable presumption, of expecting that the God to whom we have haughtily said good-by will come back at our summons, and alter his plans to suit our convenient season!

"We do not indeed suppose that we ourselves could ever be so haughtily disobedient to the heavenly voice. If only we could be sure that a voice was God's, we would obey it swiftly and gladly; but the pain of life is that its silences are so long, and so seldom broken by a voice which we can with confidence welcome as divine. But is that voice so very rare? or is it not, rather, that we have not schooled ourselves to understand the language in which it speaks? For it sometimes speaks as a rising terror in the heart. So it was with Felix. His conscience was alarmed by the vision of a judgment to come, and in that terror God was speaking to him. That is one of God's ways of speaking to men. When the still small voice would be lost upon us, he will sometimes let us hear the distant roll of his judgment thunder. Then let us not pray in our terror, 'O God! go thy way for the present.' Rather, let us make our peace with the God of the storm, lest his lightnings consume us.

"But his voice is not always terrible; it can be gentle too. Sometimes it is borne to us upon the breath of holy impulses or simple affections. But whether that voice thrills us with terror or with sacred resolve, it is for us unhesitatingly to obey its promptings. God is with us in such a moment, laying his kindly hand upon our stubborn life. How do we know that he will ever be with us again?

"Procrastination is the secret of failure. A noble thought, a holy resolution, visits us. It stands knocking at the door. But it will disturb our comfort if we suffer it to enter and possess our life, and that will not do. So we give it a courteous dismissal. 'Go thy way for the present. When I have a convenient season, I will send for thee.' And before that season comes we may have reached some place where there is no repentance, though we seek it carefully with tears.

"Warnings enough there come to every man. Every time we are appalled, like Felix, at the thought of the judgment to come, every terror

that shakes our conscience, every funeral procession that passes up the busy streets, with its silent mockery of their crowded haste, every experience that awes and humbles us, is another voice of the God who loves us too dearly to leave us alone. The man who says to such a voice, 'Go thy way for the present,' is either a coward or a fool: a coward if he cannot bear to look at those stern facts with which he will one day have to make his bed, and a fool if he supposes that the God whom he is deliberately rejecting will come in mercy when he summons him. 'When I have a more convenient season I will send for thee.' Yes, but will he come? He will come indeed, be sure of that; but when he comes he will demand the uttermost farthing."

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

To-Day: An Age of Opportunity. By JESSE BOWMAN YOUNG, D.D., Litt. D. 12mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $1.25, net.

A BROAD, fresh, well-informed, comprehensive, and informing discussion of the conditions and problems of to-day. Thirty chapters divided under four heads, "Pre-View of the Field," "Our Modern Heritage Surveyed," "Perils and Problems," "Post-View: Privilege and Opportunity." The object of Dr. Young's book is indicated in the following extract: "One of the functions of Thomas Carlyle was to put emphasis on the obligation of intelligent men to keep their eyes open to note the significant facts and movements of the century in which they were living. 'Knowest thou the meaning of this day?' is the sharp, searching question with which he calls men to account for their heedlessness and blindness. He follows up this piercing inquiry with the warning words: 'Let us not inhabit times of wonderful and various promise without divining their tendency. . . . No sin is more fearfully avenged on men and nations than failure to read these heavenly omens.' Heeding Carlyle's admonition, a man may recognize that he has a variety of obligations which bind him to serve his generation, but that first of all he must know that generation. His first obligation to his own age is to study it, to become acquainted with it—to ask: 'What sort of a world is this World of To-Day into which I have come? What are its notable factors, its leading traits, its commanding and molding influences? What and whence are the thoughts which throb in its brain, and the sympathies which stir its pulses, the opportunities which fire its ambitions, the enterprises which occupy its strength, and the achievements which crown and reward its toils?'" In one of his most impressive chapters Dr. Young notes how the message and power of Jesus Christ have been tested and proved in contact with all manner of strange beliefs, monstrous superstitions, and degraded human specimens in all parts of the globe: "If there ever was a question—a serious question—as to the adaptation of the gospel to all sorts and conditions of men, that doubt is now at rest. The apostle to the Gentiles had been fifteen years in the service of his Lord before he ventured to test the gospel in contact with the culture of Greece, and the stupendous, complex religious and political system which we now know

as Roman and Grecian polytheism. And it must have taxed his courage to its limit to make the venture. But up to our own time the gospel has never been so widely, variously, thoroughly tested as has been done in the recent century. What a body of witnesses throng forth as we ask the question in the four quarters of the world, on the continents and islands, 'What has the gospel done for you and your people?' From African jungles emerge well-clad and dignified figures, men of intelligence and rank, who say: 'I was demonized in my vices and ignorance; I was but little better than a brute in my wickedness and cruelty. The witch doctor, and his superstitions, and all the outlandish vices of my fathers had me in full control. The gospel of Jesus Christ found me in that condition, washed me from my filthiness, cleansed me from my sins, put a desire for education into my mind and also the spirit of love into my heart. I am one of the myriads of witnesses who could tell what Christ has done for Africa!' From the South Pacific seas you may gather up in a single voyage, going from group to group and island to island, tens of thousands of testimonies equally as strong. Here is, for instance, a preacher of the gospel in the Fiji Islands, a man of benign appearance, of manly nobility, now going on eighty years of age, who will tell you: 'I was a cannibal, a savage, fond of battle and bloodshed and horrible feasts, in which the bodies of those slain in battle or captured for food afforded the favorite dishes. My life up to the time I was thirty was given over to crime, to murder, to rapine, and vice. The gospel found me in that estate, awoke my perverted and frenzied manhood, put me under the control of reason, gave me a thirst for knowledge, opened my eyes to see Jesus Christ as the world's Redeemer, led me to the cross where I found pardon, and then put on me the honor of preaching the message to others. And now for nearly half a century I have been at work to save my fellow islanders and to carry the gospel from one group to another in these Southern seas!'" Writing of the defiling and destroying effects of pernicious literature, one of the worst plagues of our day, Dr. Young says: "If there is one man who has been recognized as knowing what is true, beautiful, and good in literature, that man is the critic and artist John Ruskin. Some years ago he wrote for an English magazine an article on 'Fiction—Fair and Foul,' in which he expressed his judgment concerning novels of this class. He declared that the 'reactions of moral disease upon itself, and the conditions of languidly monstrous character, developed in an atmosphere of low vitality,' had become the most valued material of modern fiction, which deals constantly and largely with morbid phenomena; that the plots and events in many, even of the higher classes of fictitious works, are simply unclean and indecent; and that, indeed, the modern infidel imagination 'amuses itself in its work with destruction of the body, and busies itself with aberrations of the mind!'" Out of his own observation Dr. Young adds this incident: "Years ago in Canton, Ohio, the writer visited three lads in the city prison—neither of them over nineteen years of age—and each one of them under sentence of death for murder. They told me their story, and among other things they said: 'It was reading bad books and

papers that brought us here. We read stories of murder, and robbery, and other crimes, and we fancied it would be nice to act as the heroes of these tales acted. So we started out on a tramp, and—here we are!' Within a month after I saw them they suffered death on the gallows for their crimes." Emphasizing our privilege and duty in this age of unparalleled opportunity, Dr. Young closes his book with these words: "An English novelist years ago entitled one of his books 'What Will He Do With It?' The plot substantially was this: Given, a youth well born, endowed with a competence, possessing attractive manners, an eligible station in society, equipped with collegiate training, and other valuable gifts. What will he do with them all? To what use will they be put? Will he neglect his opportunities for usefulness, pass his days in indolence and ease, and waste his substance in riotous living? Or will he cherish a keen sense of his responsibilities, be alert to enter every open door of service, listen diligently to each fresh call of Providence, and at the last be able to say with gladness and yet with deep humility, 'I have finished the work Thou didst give me to do'? Such questions may be used to incite to diligence, to probe the motives, to arouse from slumber, and to ennoble with righteous zeal in our day. Here before us are Franchises, Privileges, Opportunities never hitherto equaled in all the ages of the earth. What shall we do with them? Shall we live in the midst of them unmoved, inert, unconcerned, and idle? Shall the Open Door not woo us to enter? Shall the striking hours of the new age waken no response in our hearts? Shall the fields white unto the harvest make no impression on our careless souls? Rather, may we utilize to advantage the swift moments as they fly, welcoming the World of To-Day with its new possibilities and appliances and avenues of usefulness, and daily say with loyal devotion to Him who gave us being and place and chance to grow in this twentieth century environment: 'Gracious Master and Lord, we are grateful for birth and being in the New Time. We thank thee for every open door, for every recurring opportunity for service, for the light that shines in our age upon thy Word and upon our lives, for the help thou dost give so that each one of us may make the best of the lot awarded to us. Pardon all our past neglect and shortcomings; quicken our zeal; open our eyes to see the great tasks that yet remain to be done. Use our redeemed faculties, our disciplined characters, our consecrated lives so that in the work we do, the service we render, the messages we proclaim, and the examples we set to others we may walk worthily of thee and of the generation which we serve. And help us, O Lord, to labor and live so as to speed on the day when thou shalt reign from the river unto the ends of the earth, and when the kingdom of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ. Amen.'"

The Master. A Novel of the Better Life. By Irving Bacheller, author of Eben Holden. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co. Price, cloth, $1.20, net.

The temptations of Jesus in the wilderness might be summarized as resulting in one question: Shall I be a son of privilege and rule over man,

or shall I take my place beside man and be his brother, share his burdens, tell him of and reveal to him by example the only sufficient rule—that of God in the heart? Every strong man must face such a question for himself. Every college man with his special equipment faces the same temptations that confronted Jesus in the wilderness, to use his new powers to rule instead of serve humanity. Irving Bacheller has given us to see how vitally this struggle concerns human life, and what true conquest means, in his story of The Master. Nor has he created a single hero in which this struggle takes place, but we witness it in many lives. We see it in society. Yet we feel as we read his pages that one man above all those introduced to us may be called Master, and that one may be identified with the Great Master. To have written the life of Christ without mentioning his name is in itself an achievement. To have surrounded this life with the mystery such as must have surrounded the life of the Man of Nazareth to those who brothered with him, makes the story all the more alluring. One begins the book wondering who The Master is to be, if the very quest of young Holm is the quest for the Christ, or if the Son of God will actually appear in the development of the story. The strange appearance of Gabriel Horton is at least suggestive. It is he who says, "There is a love greater even than that of a man for a woman. It is the love of a man for his brothers. That, I believe, is the way to love God. This love no longer passes all understanding, for it grows, ever, in the heart of the world, and will bear the fruit of peace and brotherhood. I have seen great things, but you shall see greater. God be with you." The rise of John Congdon, whom Ben Lovel calls Master, as a great labor leader, facing the crises where he must decide whether the Toiler's Chain shall put into effect its redemptive program by force of arms or through the quieter method of peace, makes vivid the One who faced the temptation of gaining all the world if only he would worship Satan. Congdon says on the consummation of his personal victory: "I have seen hatred dying out of the world. I have witnessed the coming of a new resolve, that there is one treasure which no nation may rightly barter away, not for glory nor pride nor added territory—the lives and honor of its citizens." All the time a humble shoemaker, with a passion for going about doing good, without letting his left hand know what his right hand doeth, is entering more and more into the plot. While in our own day we sometimes see the spectacle of Christians going to law over a copyright, we have here the unusual spectacle of Ben Lovel asking that a book which he has written may be published in such a way that another than himself will receive all credit and benefit from the work. When his friend remonstrates on this course, saying, "Why, man, it may bring you wealth and great renown," Lovel answers: "So I fear. Wealth and great renown are not for me; they make one a slave, and I would serve a greater Master." Again, we see him making another and intenser sacrifice. When Holm has searched in vain for his old friend, the shoemaker, and finally appeals to Gabriel Horton to know why he returns no more, the answer is: "Look no more for him. Your ears have not heard a better thing than this: he loved her who was to be your wife, and it is chiefly for your sake that he is gone to return no more to you. But when you are gone to your

home again I shall see him and learn of his work, and I shall say no more of our dear master." This is a book of human interest. Slowly, amid the din of the world's strife and confusion, love and hatred, sorrow and suffering, with varying grades of society from the delightful fellowship of the school for novelists at the Sign O' the Lanthorne to the secret meetings of the Brotherhood of the Toiler's Chain, from love's dream in the mansion of a multimillionaire to the mutiny on a pirate ship in midocean, from the police court in New York to the serene and quiet paradise of Gabriel Horton in northern Canada, a great purpose is unfolding. The plot of this story may be thought too complicated, and yet all this varied movement serves as a perfect background to show that the kingdom of God means not a seclusion from the world but contact with every phase of human life. The great question of world-wide discontent and social suffering is here raised as it has been in other recent books of note, but Mr. Bacheller has a different answer from the others. The answer given by The Servant in the House is socialism. The answer given by the Passing of the Third Floor Back is kindness. The answer Mr. Bacheller gives in The Master is service. And yet it can hardly be put in the baldness of one word. It were better to say the answer in The Master is that the only true solution for all such problems, either for the individual or for the nation, is to be found in the contribution of service to mankind in the spirit of Jesus Christ, the Master of men and Son of God. While you feel that this is the broad ground which the author has taken, at the same time his special plea is for peace. These are the strong words which Ben Lovel uses: "I came out of my woodland home with no weariness of men, but with a great will to help them. I found the nations of the earth filled with evil of their own making. I heard the king say: '"Thou shalt not kill," save when I command it; "Thou shalt not steal" from any but my enemies; "Thou shalt not bear false witness" save it be to serve your country; "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself," but thou shalt obey me, and slay thy neighbor and offend thy God if I bid thee do it.' I saw them building, slowly building in the hearts of men, respect for human life and property, and tearing it down with murder, lust, and pillage. I saw each with one hand pointing to the way of righteousness, and with the other to the way of evil, so that the people were confused and knew not in whom to put their trust. My brothers, I have seen all this that makes a plaything of the soul of man and its great Father, and therein, I pray, you may find a task, as I have, and forget yourselves." This spirit is so beautifully manifested in the life of the hero of the book, who is both toiler and philosopher, workingman and poet, that one cannot help identifying him with the Man of Nazareth. Congdon, the labor leader, says of him: "It is strange, incredible, and beyond my comprehension—this great, unselfish soul which had come and labored with me, seeking not its own. But, now, I see its wisdom, I have felt its power sweeping over the wide earth." Holm, in his search of him, says: "Since then I have sought him in many places far and near. Once I heard of a great teacher who dwelt among the poor, in a distant capital, and cared not for wealth or fame, and taught from the

book of the little shoemaker. I found the teacher, and he said to me, 'No, I am not the man you seek, but only his follower.' And I heard of a parliament of nations, gathered to open the hearts of their best men on the subject of human brotherhood and peace forever, and I hoped to find him there, but found only his spirit and his words." One cannot lay down this book without feeling his own shortcoming as a disciple of the Christ and an intense longing to redeem his past in becoming more like the Master, and lending a stronger hand for human uplift. Perhaps the most remarkable thing about Mr. Bacheller's story is atmosphere. There is no preaching, no special pleading, no stepping aside from the intense story of human heart throb. But through the atmosphere in which you live with the characters Mr. Bacheller has created, the lessons of the book are borne in upon you. There lingers with you as you close the book an atmosphere of calm, quiet, peace. This is all the more remarkable because of the rapid movement and changing scenes of the story. The atmosphere is not something introduced into the book; there are no earmarks of the novelist's attempt to create atmosphere; you cannot look back and see how it comes. You simply realize its pervasiveness. It is there; you feel it; it takes possession of you. You are not drugged, but inspired to action. It is the calm that foretells victory. It is the thrill of a new purpose. You come to the end feeling "that life is most worth living when work is most worth while." And so you read the last sentence of The Master with a new calm and a new resolve, that with God's blessing, may go with you all the days. "Always when we sit in our cathedral, and hear the pines and the thrushes, we think of our master and of his great work and love, and in silence we look out through the open door that he has set for us."

Prophecy and Poetry. Studies in Isaiah and Browning. By ARTHUR ROGERS, author of Men and Movements in the English Church. 12mo, pp. 269. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, $1.25, net.

THESE are the Bohlen Lectures for 1909 delivered in Philadelphia by the rector of the Church of the Holy Trinity, West Chester, Pennsylvania. He sets Isaiah and Browning side by side, points out where he sees a likeness, and then tries to prove the likeness by their words. His preface says: "There are persons, good citizens and doers of the moral law, who find Isaiah dull and Browning unintelligible. If this book, through some inadvertence or the gift of ill-judged friends, should fall into the hands of any such, they will presently cast it from them as the abomination of desolation. They will be right. It was never meant for them. But I am not without hope that there may be some who have known and loved Isaiah, while they have not known much about Browning, and some others, who have known and loved Browning, while they have thought of Isaiah as inspired but without much human interest, whom my book may lead to want to know the other better. It is those who have cared much for both who will know best whether I have done my work well or ill." A commentator on Dr. T. H. Warren's essay on Dante and Tennyson

thinks that Warren in his comparison of the two "emphatically overdrives the free horse of personal parallelism." The same critic might possibly make a similar comment on the Rev. Arthur Rogers's comparison of Isaiah and Browning. The parallel between the prophet and the poet seems not so close as the lecturer aims to show; yet the lectures are interesting and stimulating. How religion and poetry go helpfully hand in hand, Mr. Rogers points out in his first lecture: "Religion is man's going out to God. It is his coming to himself among the husks of matter, and claiming for his own the Father from whose home he came. It calls upon him to lift his eyes to heaven. As we have it in the form of Christianity, it brings heaven down to earth. It is the expression and acknowledgment of our relationship to God. We are his people, and the sheep of his pasture. Poetry, on the other hand, is man's highest thought about himself—the world he lives in, the problems which he has to face. It is inevitable that such thought should not, sooner or later, lead to God; but in poetry God is not, as in religion, the professed goal. As Principal Shairp puts it, 'To appeal to the higher side of human nature and to strengthen it, to come to its rescue when it is overborne by worldliness and material interests, to support it by great truths set forth in their most attractive form—this is the only worthy aim, the adequate end, of all poetic endeavor.' Religion deals with the will, poetry quickens the emotions. Religion sets forth duties. It is poetry's business to fill those duties with enthusiasm. The prophet speaks to man for God. The poet, at his highest, speaks to God for men. He is not different from his brethren, but he is man in the superlative degree. Poetry is like one of Chopin's nocturnes, seeking, aspiring, hoping, yet not without a suggestion that that which is sought has not yet been found. Can man by searching find out God? The old question which comes to us from the very dawn of history has gained no new answer from the centuries that have passed over it. Then religion comes to the rescue. It may be compared to that glorious Sanctus of Gounod, where nothing is sought because there is no need of seeking, but which lifts us from adoration to the rest that remaineth for the people of God, and to that peace of God which cannot be explained, because it passeth understanding, but which can be realized, as many a struggling soul has learned through blessed experience. If poetry is the expression of man's highest thought, religion is at once the acknowledgment and the satisfaction of his deepest need." A fair example of the lecturer's paralleling of Isaiah and Browning is the following: "In one of Browning's short poems, 'Instans Tyrannus,' we have what might almost be a commentary on the chapters of Isaiah which describe the Assyrian arrogance and the Assyrian overthrow. It is the monologue of a tyrant who has selected one of his subjects for his especial hatred. There was no reason for this fierce dislike—a fact which made it all the fiercer. There is no hatred so malignant as that which springs of itself from the slime and ooze of some corrupt and bitter nature. The tyrant taxed his ingenuity to the utmost that he might plague and vex his victim. He crushed him to earth with sheer dead weight of persecution. He tempted him with most consummate treachery.

"I set my five wits on the stretch
To inveigle the wretch.

And then, at the last, he takes the true Assyrian attitude. Has he not always had his way? Shall he not have it still? Shall this man find safety in his insignificance, when the king himself condescends to hate? The moment of his malicious triumph is at hand.

"I soberly laid my last plan
To extinguish the man.
Round his creep-hole, with never a break,
Ran my fires for his sake;
Overhead, did my thunder combine
With my underground mine;
Till I looked from my labor content
To enjoy the event.

"So far as the tyrant could see, nothing was wanting to the accomplishment of his design. He had only to wait, and watch his victim's fruitless struggle, and prolong the agony as much as possible. 'He shall shake his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion.' He settled himself in glad anticipation. So far as he could see, all was in readiness. But the hitch came in his plan because he could not see the whole horizon. The eyes of tyranny, of brute force which becomes brutality, are not very sharp. For all his strength the Assyrian had no insight into spiritual things. Whatever was not like himself, he dismissed with the same contemptuous indifference. In his vocabulary, all gods were alike. He did not permit them to interfere with his designs. So with this tyrant. He had made his plans. Now he would carry them out. What could prevent? Is not Hamath as Arphad? But let us hear his own account of the conclusion. Were they two, oppressor and oppressed, to be the only actors in the scene?

"When sudden . . . how think ye, the end?
Did I say, without friend?
Say rather, from marge to blue marge
The whole sky grew his targe
With the sun's self for visible boss,
While an Arm ran across
Which the earth heaved beneath like a breast
Where the wretch was safe prest.
Do you see? Just my vengeance complete,
The man sprang to his feet,
Stood erect, caught at God's skirts, and prayed.
—So, *I* was afraid.

"The tyrant's power revealed God's greater power. He who was threatened with destruction found safety and peace in the very extremity of his plight."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

George Bernard Shaw. By GILBERT K. CHESTERTON. 12mo, pp. 249. New York: John Lane Company. Price, $1.50, net.

For one conspicuous man of genius to write a whole book about another living man of genius at the height of his fame is unusual. That is what we have here in 250 pages. At first this venture did not strike us favorably. When Chesterton said on page 18, "It is absurd to be writing a book about Mr. Bernard Shaw," we quite agreed with him. But it is impossible not to enjoy Chesterton's exuberant vitality when the big, healthy fellow turns loose his brilliant faculties for a splendid romp with things human and divine up and down the universe. His good-natured play is sometimes overvigorous for those with whom he contends; his big fist hitting out lightly sometimes disables a loquacious jaw. Now and then he half inadvertently steps on the enemy, which is fun for him but not for the enemy. The book before us is about a great many things. It has "some thunderbolts of good thinking." Its Chestertonian epigrams alone would make it worth while. Here is one: "Dogmas are not dark and mysterious; rather, a dogma is like a flash of lightning—an instantaneous lucidity that opens across a whole landscape." Another: "The best way to shorten winter is to prolong Christmas." Of Oscar Wilde he says: "His philosophy (which was vile) was a philosophy of ease and of luxurious illusion; being Irish, he put it in pugnacious epigrams. His armed insolence was Irish; he challenged all comers. . . . He was one of those who told people that a work of art is in another universe from ethics and social good; his writings are æsthetic affirmations of what can be without any reference to what ought to be." Wilde was the god of one of those stale interludes which separate the serious epochs of history—a dreary interlude of prematurely old young men. He was mystical and monstrous—a dandy who made poisonous epigrams and went about with a frock coat, a green carnation, and Savoy restaurant manners. When this doctrine prevails, art soon needs to be cleaned like an Augean stable. Chesterton calls Nietzsche "an eloquent sophist," and goes on thus: "Nietzsche was a frail, fastidious, entirely useless anarchist. He had a wonderful poetic wit, and was one of the best rhetoricians of the modern world. He had a remarkable power of saying things that master the reason for a moment by their gigantic unreasonableness; as, for instance, 'Your life is intolerable without immortality; but why shouldn't your life be intolerable?' His whole work is shot through with the pangs and fevers of his extremely sickly physical life; in early middle age his brain broke down into impotence and darkness. It seems to me that all that was true in his teaching or creditable and sound in him can be stated in the derivation of one word, the word *valor*. Valor means a value; courage is itself a solid good; it is an ultimate virtue; valor is in itself valid. . . . Nietzsche imagined he was rebelling against ancient morality; as a matter of fact, he was only rebelling against *recent morality, the half-baked impudence of the utilitarians and the materialists.* He thought he was rebelling against Christianity; curiously enough, he was rebelling solely against the special enemies of Christianity, against Herbert Spencer and Edward

Clodd. Historic Christianity has always believed in the *valor* of Saint Michael riding in front of the Church Militant; and in an ultimate and absolute *pleasure*, not utilitarian, but the intoxication of the spirit, the wine of the blood of God." Chesterton explains G. B. Shaw in large part by calling him a Puritan; this, he thinks, is why Shaw does not approve of Shakespeare, but likes Bunyan better because of the latter's virile acceptance of life as a high and harsh adventure, in contrast with Shakespeare's profligate pessimism—the *vanitas vanitatum* of a disappointed voluptuary. According to this view, Shakespeare was always saying, "Out, out, brief candle!" because his was only a ballroom candle, while Bunyan was seeking to light such a candle as by God's grace should never be put out. Though Chesterton thinks Shaw's denunciation of Shakespeare was through Shaw's misunderstanding, he yet thinks the denunciation of Shakespeare's pessimism "a most splendidly understanding utterance." He thinks the greatest thing in Shaw is his serious optimism, which holds that life is too glorious a thing to be merely enjoyed; to exist is an exacting business; its trumpet call, though inspiring and sublime, is nobly terrible. Chesterton thinks nothing Shaw ever wrote is nobler than his simple reference to the sturdy man who stepped up to the Keeper of the Book of Life and said, "Put down my name, sir." Chesterton says Shaw made the mistake of trying to buttress this manly and heroic philosophy by false metaphysics. He says that the temporary decline of theology had caused a neglect of philosophy and of all fine thinking; and so Shaw went to Schopenhauer (Heaven save the mark!) to find justifications for the sons of God shouting for joy. "He called it the Will to Live—a phrase invented by Prussian professors who would like to exist, but can't." But though Shaw made this mistake, "he was on the side of the good old cause; the oldest and best of causes, the cause of Creation against destruction, the cause of Yes against no, the cause of the Seed against the stony earth and the Star against the abyss." Chesterton thinks Shaw entirely misunderstands Shakespeare's pessimistic passages, and says "they are simply flying moods which a man with a fixed faith may tolerate for a moment. That all is vanity, that life is dust and love is ashes—these are frivolous, fleeting notions. Shakespeare knows well enough that there is a life which is not dust and a love that is not ashes. . . . In the very act of uttering his pessimism Hamlet admits that it is a mood and not the truth. Hamlet is quite the reverse of a skeptic. He is a man whose strong intellect believes much more than his weak temperament can make vivid to him. He has the power (or the weakness) of knowing a thing without feeling it, of believing a thing without experiencing it. . . . Shakespeare confesses his moods, but he never sets up his moods against his mind. He was not in any sense a pessimist." Chesterton says that Shaw, in some of his plays, "is simply a seventeenth century Calvinist; his primary and defiant proposition is the Calvinistic proposition that the elect do not earn virtue but possess it. Shaw's Julius Cæsar prevails over other people by possessing more *virtus* than they; not by having suffered or striven into virtue, not because he has heroically struggled, but because he is what he was made—a hero. According to

Shaw. Cæsar is not saved by works, or even by faith; he is saved and superior simply because he is one of the elect." "I will confess," adds Chesterton, "to the conviction that Bernard Shaw, in the course of his whole strenuous life, was never quite so near to hell as when he wrote such views." Chesterton criticises Shaw also for his views as to methods of educating children. Shaw preaches that in the education and development of *citizens* liberty and responsibility go together. Liberty, with all its risks and its liability to abuse, must be allowed to the citizen. This principle, which is true of the citizen, though not the whole truth, Shaw carries over to the child and its education, without noticing that there is an immense difference between the inexperienced child and the adult citizen. He gets hold of the Herbert Spencer idea of teaching children by experience, which, Chesterton says, is perhaps the most fatuously silly idea that was ever gravely put down in print. Against Shaw's notion that the child should be allowed to choose for himself and learn his lesson by experiencing the consequences of his chosen course, and that one should never tell a child anything without letting him hear the opposite opinion in order that he may take his choice freely, Chesterton rails in this fashion: This is equivalent to saying that, when you tell Tommy not to hit his sick sister on the temple, you must be sure to have present some Nietzschean professor who will explain to Tommy that it can be said in favor of his hitting his sister that if he hits hard enough he may help to eliminate the sickly and unfit. And that when you are in the act of telling Susan not to drink out of the bottle labeled "Poison" you must telegraph for a "Christian Scientist" who will be ready to tell Susan that the poison cannot do her any harm if she does not yield to "mortal mind"—she can resist its effects and virtually abolish it by sheer force of intellect and will, by rising into the absolute where the delusion called evil does not exist. The tendency is to excessive liberty for the immature in homes, schools, colleges, and society. The modern theories of education are dangerously like the practice of the hero in a certain book: "Marcellin becomes the guardian of an orphan girl of eleven years, upon whom he tries his own system of education, which is that a girl should be permitted to understand 'wickedness—vice, if you like,' to read alternately bad and good books, to be familiar with every phase of human life, then to observe cause and effect, and form her own conclusions." Having heard that one of Shaw's plays had been forbidden in London by the censor, Chesterton writes: "As far as I can discover, the play has been forbidden because one of the characters in it professes a belief in God, and states his conviction that God has got him. This is wholesome; this is like one crack of thunder in a clear sky. The prince of this world does not forgive that. In all honest religion there is something that is hateful to the prosperous compromise of our time. You are free in our time to say that God does not exist; you are free to say that he exists and is evil; you are free to say (like poor old Renan) that he would like to exist if he could. You may talk of God as a metaphor or a mystification; you may water him down with gallons of long words, or boil him to the rags of metaphysics, and it is not merely that nobody

punishes you, but nobody even protests. But if you speak of God as a fact, as a reason for changing one's conduct, then the modern world will stop you somehow if it can. We are long past talking about whether an unbeliever should be punished for being irreverent. It is now thought irreverent to be a believer. I end where I began: it is the old Puritan in Shaw that jars the modern world like an electric shock. Perhaps what I have called fastidiousness in him is a divine fear. Perhaps what I have called his coldness may be a predestinate and ancient endurance. That vision with which I meant to end, the vision of a new London made of culture and common sense, begins to fade and alter. That vision of Fabian villas grows fainter and fainter, until I see only a void place across which runs Bunyan's Pilgrim with his fingers in his ears." We close with Chesterton's final tribute to Bernard Shaw: "A strange age is ours. We call the twelfth century ascetic. We call our own time hedonist and full of pleasure. But in that ascetic age the love of life was evident and enormous, so that it had to be restrained. In our hedonist age pleasure has sunk so low that it has to be encouraged. How high the sea of human happiness rose in the Middle Ages we now only know by the colossal walls that they built to keep it within bounds. How low human happiness has sunk in this twentieth century our children will only know by these extraordinary modern books which tell people that it is a duty to be cheerful and that life is not so bad after all. A strange time it is, indeed, when a holiday has to be imposed like a fast and when men have to be driven to a banquet with spears. But hereafter it will have to be written of our time, that, when the Spirit that Denies besieged the last citadel, blaspheming life itself, there were some, there was one especially, whose voice was heard protesting, and whose spear was never broken." Such is Chesterton's estimate of Bernard Shaw, but the book's chief interest to the reader, after all, is Chesterton, not Shaw.

Oliver Wendell Holmes. By SAMUEL MCCHORD CROTHERS. 12mo, pp. 65. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. Price, cloth, with portrait, 75 cents, net.

THE sub-title is "The Autocrat and His Fellow Boarders." An essay of forty pages about Holmes is supplemented by twenty-five pages of his best poems, closing with "The Chambered Nautilus," the one bit of his verse which is likely to survive. Aside from and above his poetry and his eminence in his profession as professor of anatomy and physiology, Dr. Holmes is best known as an essayist in the character of "The Autocrat" who made Philosophy come down from the heights and take up her abode in a Boston boarding house, along with a nervous landlady anxious to please, an opinionated old gentleman ready to be displeased, and a poet, and a philosopher, and a timid schoolmistress, and a divinity student who wants to know, and an angular, "economically organized female" in black bombazine, who was "the natural product of high culture and a chilly climate," and a young fellow named John who cares for none of these things. These free-born American citizens are talked to by one of their fellow boarders who usurps the right of autocratic speech. The boarders saw to it that the paternal and dictatorial Autocrat was not

allowed to think of himself more highly than he ought. They contradicted him freely and flatly. This made the breakfast table lively with give-and-take, thrust and counter-thrust. Dissent has long been a New England habit. The Puritans were described as "a people inclinable to singularities; their humor is to differ from all the world and shortly from themselves." Over three hundred years later Lowell wrote of Theodore Parker and his coreligionists:

> I know they all went
> For a general union of total dissent:
> He went a step farther; without cough or hem,
> He frankly avowed he believed not in them;
> And, before he could be jumbled up or prevented,
> From their orthodox kind of dissent he dissented.

For the Autocrat to discover or invent resemblances or "to couple ideas into a train of thought was as easy as it is for a railroad man to couple cars." He points out the likeness between an awkward visitor and a ship: "Don't you know how hard it is for some people to get out of a room after their visit is really over? They want to be off, and you want to have them off, but they don't know how to manage it. One would think they had been built in your parlor or study, and were waiting to be launched. I have contrived a sort of ceremonial inclined plane for such visitors, which being lubricated with certain smooth phrases, I back them down, metaphorically speaking, stern-foremost, into their 'native element,' the great ocean of outdoors." On this Dr. Crothers comments: "Whoever has felt himself thus being launched recognizes the accuracy of the figure of speech." The author of this essay on Holmes says that no good book is easy to write, and then sounds this admonitory note: "The writer (or the preacher) who is unusually fluent should take warning from the instructions which accompany his fountain pen: 'When this pen flows too freely it is a sign that it is nearly empty and should be filled.'" Dr. Holmes had the excellent habit of jotting down his thoughts. At the famous breakfast table the Poet says to the prosaic boarders: "The idea of a man's 'interviewing' himself *is* rather odd, to be sure. But then that is what we are all of us doing every day. Half of my talk is for the purpose of finding out my own thoughts, as a schoolboy turns his pockets inside out to see what is in them. . . . It's a very queer place, that receptacle a man fetches his talk out of. The library comparison doesn't exactly hit it. You stow away some idea and don't want it, say for ten years. When it turns up at last it has got so jammed and crushed out of shape by the other ideas packed with it, that it is no more like what it was than a raisin is like a grape on the vine, or a fig from a drum like one hanging on the tree." The following division of minds into classes is worthy of consideration: "There are one-story intellects, two-story intellects, three-story intellects with skylights. All mere fact-collectors, who have no aim beyond their facts, are one-story men. Two-story men compare, reason, generalize, using the labors of the fact-collectors as well as their own. Three-story men idealize, imagine, predict; *their best illumination comes from above, through the skylight.*" Our essayist thinks

it is profitable to "go a-thinking" with the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table. He speaks of a state of society in which "A thought was never allowed to go abroad unless chaperoned by an elderly and perfectly reliable moral."

The Earliest Cosmologies. A Guidebook for Beginners in the Study of Ancient Literatures and Religions. By William Fairfield Warren, S.T.D., LL.D. 8vo, pp. 222. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price, cloth, illustrated, $1.50, net.

This book is the result of Dr. Warren's latest and completest studies of the universe as pictured in thought by the ancient Hebrews, Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, Iranians, and Indo-Aryans. When the thinkers of the ancient world went out into the open, saw the sky with its horizon, the sun or the moon and the stars, and observed their regular course; when they beheld the clouds and felt the wind and rain very much as we see and feel them; when they thought of space and God and the abodes of the living and the dead, what idea did they have of the form and character of the world in which they found themselves living, and how are to be interpreted the descriptions they give and the references they make to it? This is in substance the inquiry that Dr. Warren institutes in his book, and who can question its fascinating interest and vital importance? For not only are these conceptions interesting in themselves, but a thoroughgoing understanding of ancient thought is not possible without a knowledge of these fundamentals. Dr. Warren begins his work with a review of the Hebrew universe as commonly pictured and explained in standard commentaries and Bible dictionaries. This brings the whole question immediately home to us, for it involves biblical ideas and their interpretation, and no Bible student can afford to be indifferent to the subject. It is unquestionably true that the prevailing explanations of biblical ideas are exceedingly crude and unsatisfactory; and now that Dr. Warren has pointed out a better way, it does, indeed, seem strange that such a thinker as the writer of the creation account in the first chapter of Genesis, whom critical scholarship assigns to the fifth century before the Christian era, that is, long after the great prophets, should have entertained such puerile notions as that *rakia*, "the firmament," was "like a brass dome, or cover, beaten out, and shut down around the edge of the earth like the cover of a dinner platter," and that it was provided with "windows" literally understood, which were occasionally pushed back to let the rain descend. The strictures of the author upon his predecessors in the field are always just, considerate, and polite; sometimes they are caustic and not void of a certain humor that lends a charm to the discussion; it is the criticism of one who feels sure that he has something better to offer, and must needs make clear the lack. The most important section of the book is Dr. Warren's interpretation of the Babylonian universe. It is his signal contribution to the subject; and from it the light radiates upon all the rest. The author has here made use of labors that he had in previous years published in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, and had thus first submitted to the judgment of competent specialists. Upon the basis of twelve distinct data, derived from the study of the ancient Babylonian

texts, he constructs the Babylonian universe, giving in corroboration of his views numerous references to the literature of those who have dealt with the subject. The result is a perfectly symmetrical system of the upper and lower world in the form of two seven-staged pyramids, illustrated by a diagram, which is the frontispiece of the volume, and is remarkable for its consistency, harmony, and beauty. But the result does not only bring into one focus Babylonian ideas, it brings order and light also into others. Babylonia was the seat of the most ancient and advanced civilization, and its influence spread in all directions. The author proceeds, then, to point out the aid of the new light upon Babylonian conceptions in the understanding of the conceptions of the Bible, the rabbinic literature, the Koran, of the Egyptians, of Homer, and of the Indo-Iranic and Buddhistic ideas of the universe. And it is with a pardonable enthusiasm that in summarizing the result he exclaims: "How wonderful a world-view was this! How perfect the symmetries of the system! Its duplex center lived on in the Pythagorean thought as 'Earth and Counter-earth.' Doubtless, it influenced Plato when in the Timæus he said, 'To Earth, then, let us assign the form of a cube.' It still lives on in the four-cornered earth of the New Testament and in that of Mohammedan teaching. Its heavens lived on in the 'homocentric' 'crystalline spheres' of the Greek astronomers, and through the influence of Ptolemy's Almagest shaped the thinking of all savants, philosophers, and poets till the days of Copernicus. Dante's heavens are those of Ptolemy, and Ptolemy's are those of the ancient worshipers of Anu and Sin. Their music is still audible, their form still visible, in Milton's Ode to the Nativity." It is not easy to estimate justly Dr. Warren's book without becoming liable to the charge of exaggeration. It is truly a great book. Succinct, clear, strictly scientific, broad in its range, and in a charming style, it presents an entirely original and new view on an old, interesting, and important subject. It is the mature fruit of the specialized study of three decades. The result is constructive and satisfying; and there is every reason for believing that in due time it will become the accepted view of scholarship; for there is no other treatise that so well meets with the requirements of the facts in the case. The book is an honor to the author, to Methodism, and to American scholarship. It is well designed to give valuable service as a guidebook for beginners in the study of ancient literatures and religions; and that "any pecuniary returns from the sale of the book will be sacredly devoted to the promotion of this branch of learning in Boston University" is an additional incentive for the buying of a work of such merit.

Young Life of Famous Folk. By Cora Lowe Watkins. 12mo, pp. 116. Nashville, Tenn.: Smith & Lamar. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

On the title page of this little book is this quotation from Bishop Foss: "Men destined to be forces are generally thrust out into the arena and put upon their mettle young." Nineteen brief and simple sketches give glimpses of the childhood and youth of such famous folk as Ruskin, Robert E. Lee, Webster, Dickens, Emerson, Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, Lanier, Bryant, Hawthorne, Henry Drummond, Eugene Field,

Florence Nightingale, and Peter Cooper. The book might have been entitled "Nineteen Little Folks and How They Grew to Be Great Folks." Here is an incident from Professor Drummond's boyhood: A famous preacher to children was holding a service for all the Sabbath schools of Stirling. The church being crowded, one class was seated on the pulpit stairs, and Henry and two other boys were taken into the pulpit itself. The preacher began his sermon by comparing the Bible to a tree—each book a branch, each chapter a twig, and each verse a leaf. "My text is on the thirty-ninth branch, the third twig, and the seventeenth leaf. Try to find it for me." Almost immediately Henry slipped from behind the preacher and said, "Malachi, third and seventeen." "Right, my boy. Now take my place and read it out." Then from the pulpit came the clear voice, "And they shall be mine, saith the Lord of hosts, in that day when I make up my jewels." The preacher, laying his hand on the boy's head, said: "Well done. I hope that one day you will be a minister." In an address on "Spiritual Diagnosis" before a theological society Professor Drummond once maintained that a minister can do more good by "buttonholing" men than by preaching sermons. He contrasted the usual training of a minister with the clinical training of a physician, and thought it a fault in our theological curriculum that it keeps the student in his text-books, without any direct dealing with men or close contact with actual human life. Here is the story of little Louisa May Alcott's conversion: "One summer morning just at dawn she ran over the hills and into the woods, where she stopped to rest. The lovely summer morning and a happy mood seemed to bring the child's soul near to God, and in the quiet of that early morning hour she always felt that she 'got religion.' The new sense of His presence which came to her then went with her through forty years, and grew stronger with the poverty and pain and sorrow and success that came into her life." Eugene Field, though born in Saint Louis, spent his boyhood in New England. In manhood he said, "I bless New England forever for pounding me with the Bible and the spelling book." The New England Sabbath, with its Bible and holy hymns and what he heard from the pulpit week after week, influenced him for good all his life more than anything else did. So he testified. Young Field was a good declaimer, and at one time was seized with ambition to be an actor. He went to Edwin Forrest and made known his ambition; but the great tragedian, eying him from head to foot, exclaimed, "Boy, return to your friends and bid them apprentice you to a wood-sawyer rather than waste your life on a profession whose successes are few and whose rewards are bankruptcy and ingratitude." We are told that the only books Eugene Field kept at hand when writing in his box-stall in the editorial room of a Chicago newspaper were the Bible, a concordance, and Bartlett's Familiar Quotations. Over his desk hung a sign, "This is my busy day," and on the opposite wall, "God bless our proof reader! He can't call for him too soon."

METHODIST REVIEW

MARCH, 1910

Art. I.—JESUS OR CHRIST?

In 1865 Strauss published a work entitled The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History. The book was a criticism of Schleiermacher's Life of Jesus, and Strauss's aim was to emphasize the doctrine of his own Life of Jesus, that the Christ of faith is a production of the church, while the Jesus of history is something very different. The antithesis expressed in the title of his later work has become quite the order of the day in recent times. The Hibbert Journal recently published a symposium on the subject, and a book bearing the title Jesus or Christ? has lately appeared. Those who maintain the negative view in this matter are generally quite acute in objection, but not always strong and comprehensive in their discussion of the subject. Every student knows how easy it is to raise objections, and how often many a writer who in attack is very able proves to be weak enough when put on the defensive. Of course in logic a theory is justified not merely or mainly by the objections it can raise to other views, but also, and more especially, by its own positive adequacy to the facts. It often happens that a view which, considered by itself, has many difficulties is, nevertheless, the line of least resistance, so that when the subject is comprehensively considered, the view is found to be one in which the mind most easily rests. And this seems to us to be the case with this discussion of Jesus or Christ? The orthodox view, while undoubtedly having its mysteries and difficulties, after all turns out to be the one of least resistance. To show this, and thus indirectly to support the ortho-

dox view, I purpose first of all to examine a little book recently published which is essentially devoted to this problem. If we find that it makes more difficulties than it removes, and requires more faith than the view it rejects, we shall find ourselves correspondingly confirmed in the historic faith of Christianity. The book is entitled What We Know about Jesus. The author, a liberal clergyman of advanced type, says: "Our study requires us to separate two words which have grown together, namely, 'Jesus' and 'Christ.' They represent different ideas." For him, then, the word "Jesus" is the name of the real man, the prophet of Galilee; "Christ" is the name for the dogmatic creation of the church, historically baseless and infected with all manner of dogmatic and theological suggestions. It will be seen from this that the author's thought is essentially that of Strauss. Of course the similarity is in the title only. There is no suggestion in this brochure of the massive scholarship of Strauss, but still the general thought is that the Jesus of history must be very sharply distinguished from the Christ of faith. What, then, do we know about Jesus? What we may believe about Christ is another thing. That is a matter of dogma and tradition, but what we know about Jesus is a question of history, and is to be determined by historical methods. As the result of much reflection the author concludes that we do not know very much about Jesus and not all that we seem to know is entirely to his credit. He says:

> From any point of view the problem must be extremely difficult. It is no slight task, indeed, to obtain a really clear and lifelike, not to say accurate, description of a man of our own stock and language, and as near our own time as Channing and Washington, only a hundred years ago or less. But in Jesus's case we have to make our way back nearly twenty centuries. We peer dimly through hundreds of years where books or, rather, manuscripts were extremely rare, and careful scholarship as we know the term was rarer still. . . . We come at last upon a few bits of writing which constitute almost the sole authority of our knowledge for the beginnings of Christianity. I mean the New Testament books, the Gospels, the Acts, and the Epistles. Outside of these writings we know nothing authentic about Jesus. Moreover, most of the New Testament does not profess to give us any information about him. Paul obviously had only the slightest acquaintance with his teachings, which he hardly more than quotes once, or of his historic life, which he seems to slight in favor of a somewhat mystical theory of his personality (p. 2).

Obviously, then, we cannot get much first-hand knowledge. A few pages at most, the amount of a simple pamphlet, are the sum of our material: "A considerable part of the material consists in wonder stories or miracles."

> Only a few personal incidents here and there, a glimpse as of one passing in the street, serve to reveal the real man. How we strain our eyes to see what he looks like, to catch the tone of his voice, to get for one long moment the clear impress of his personality. Who can honestly say that he ever feels acquainted with Jesus? (p. 7). How many clearly authentic utterances have we from Jesus? What can we rest upon? What exactly did he do? What did he say of himself and his mission? What commandments did he lay down, or what ordinances did he establish? What new ideas, if any, did he contribute? The answers to all these questions must be found, if at all, in the study of a few pages of the synoptic Gospels. No one is sure or can possibly be sure of these answers. The light is too dim in the remote corner of the Roman empire of the first century where we are at work deciphering, as it were, a series of palimpsests (p. 9).

Our knowledge of Jesus, then, seems to be in a bad way, and when we turn to the pamphlets we find no single account of a consistent character, but many scattered characters which leave us in great uncertainty.

> The general portraiture of Jesus in the fourth Gospel hardly impresses us as winning or lovable. We are constantly disturbed by the language of egotism and self-assertion put into Jesus's mouth, in accordance with the author's evident conception of a mystical and Messianic personage, not a veritable man. The constant use of the word "I" almost spoils the Gospel for profitable reading to a modern congregation. Moreover, John's Jesus repeatedly assails, provokes, and castigates the leaders of his people. All this portraiture, judged by our highest standards of conduct, is unworthy of the best type of man, not to say a good God (p. 15).

The author is unpleasantly impressed with this egotism of Jesus and recurs to it more than once. He thinks it "not in line with the whole trend of the democratic thought of our age. To most men even yet Jesus is the center and head of a monarchical scheme of religion. . . . The democratic ideal, on the other hand, conceives of a host of men all of one common nature, all associated together as members of one family, all needing both to help and to be helped, to give and to take of each other, to teach and to

be taught, to inspire and to be inspired by every fresh act and word of friendliness and devotion. There is here no one master or leader or Saviour—like a king cell in the human body. There is reciprocity, there is mutuality. . . . This alone is spiritual democracy" (p. 86). The synoptic Gospels are better in this respect, but here, too, the wonder stories make up so large a part of the narrative as to tend to obscure the portrait of the real Jesus. Some things related are fine, but the story of the temptation "reads like a series of dreams; it belongs to no real world." His habitual attitude toward the Pharisees is not to his credit: "He never seems to show them any sympathy. He upbraids and denounces them and calls them by harsh names, as hypocrites, as a generation of vipers, and, if one could believe the fourth Gospel, as 'children of the wicked one.' 'Ye are of your father, the devil.' Few realize how many such passages there are." In smaller matters Jesus seems to have spoken in an unfilial way to his mother, and in his cleansing of the temple and denunciation of the churchmen of his time he appears to have given way to unpardonable temper. "This story matches, indeed, with the theory of a supernatural and terrible Messiah. But as the story of an actual man it is nothing less than an act of anarchy, like lynch law" (p 23). His egotism, already referred to, further appears in putting forward his own personality as central to his work and message. This, too, displeases the author, for "the world is going to learn the use of a greater word than the 'I' of a Messiah. The noblest of leaders may not safely dwell on the centrality of his own person. The more modest words 'we' and 'ours' alone keep men safe and in orderly place in the ranks of the common humanity. No one may assume a sole authority over his fellows. . . . There blends, therefore, with the touches of the common and genial humanity an almost repellent impression of aloofness as of one already the inhabitant of another and mystic realm. On this side Jesus is well-nigh unapproachable. Normal humanity is apart from this realm. It is the region of fanaticism and of religious extravagance" (p. 65).

Thus we see that Jesus as portrayed in the Gospels does not make a good impression on the author. There are, indeed, many

remarkable and wonderful passages of love and many gleams of deep insight, but along with these there are many other things unpleasant and forbidding. There are, for example, suggestions of eternal damnation. The devil is not altogether ruled out. Then, too, there is the unpleasant refrain, "Where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." The picture of Dives in hell is terrific, and such parables as "the wedding feast, the wise and foolish virgins, and the talents are morally more or less vitiated for our use by the inhuman ending of each of them" (p. 47). Thus the matter gets worse and worse. Jesus himself seems also to have adopted the Messianic idea, as "it is not easy at all otherwise to explain so numerous a number of passages ascribed to him. The origin and growth of the resurrection stories seem also more likely to have come with Jesus's help by way of preparation for them than without any such help. They also came, I surmise, with a wave of interest and belief in occult and psychic phenomena, of which we get hints in the Gospels, as, for example, in the story of Herod's theory of the reincarnation of John the Baptist in the person of Jesus, in the story of Jesus walking on the sea, in the legend of the transfiguration, as well as in the ghostly appearances in Jerusalem after Jesus's death" (p. 53). Thus we see that Jesus seems to have regarded himself as appointed by God for a peculiar mission, and as being so understood by the people of his time, for "Why did the authorities put Jesus to death if he claimed nothing beyond the gift of ordinary prophecy? No one can easily explain his very frequent assumption of some species of unique and authoritative character, except by the quite natural belief that he took himself to be—I will not urge more than a man, but a man appointed by God for a peculiar mission. You certainly have to do violence to his language in order to dissociate the centrality of his own person from numerous passages. The more than prophetic 'I' and 'mine,' while not so exaggerated as in the fourth Gospel, yet run all through the synoptic Gospels. The very words, 'Come unto me, all ye that labor,' emphasize this centrality of thought" (p. 54). There is here a clear recognition of the fact that Jesus made very high claims for himself, and was so understood by the people, both friends and enemies. Of course

in all this he was mistaken, and would seem to have suffered from megalomania in an aggravated form.

This leads us to consider Jesus as the founder of Christianity. Here the author says:

> In the first place, there seems to be no ground to believe that Jesus even in the role of Messiah ever intended to found a new religion. . . . The truth is that the early Christianity obviously owed its success very largely to the indefatigable labors of Paul, whose genius picked it out of the lines of a Jewish sect and gave it a quasi-universal character. As Jesus founded no new religion, so he wrote no books and professed to bring no new doctrines. There is no certainty that he appointed apostles, least of all twelve in number (p. 73).

Jesus as thus described is so unpromising a character that the author is strongly inclined to find the source of Christianity elsewhere than in him. Thus in speaking of the parable of the sheep and the goats and others, he says:

> It was no feeble hand that composed the tremendous chapters to which we refer and these grand and awful parables. This is the hand of a prophet. It would look now, contrary to the ordinary impression, but in line with all the analogies of history, as if we had not merely the figure of one man, Jesus, all alone, but a group of remarkable personalities—Paul, the anonymous author of the Johannine writings, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, besides those who put the synoptic Gospels into shape. It may be true, as Matthew Arnold has suggested, that Jesus was above the head of his disciples, but it begins now to look more as if the new religion must have owed its existence to a succession of great individualities, all of them worthy to be compared with the earlier prophets (p. 49).

But this suggestion of unknown powerful writers "who may have supplemented Jesus's teaching with more or less fresh material leaves the figure of Jesus himself even more obscure and fragmentary. Where does the authentic teaching of Jesus leave off and these others begin? No one knows or ever can know. How far was Jesus responsible for the more extreme and terrific doctrine which was evidently in the air while he lived and which he seems to have done nothing to controvert?" (p. 50). In this suggestion the author finds great relief. He says there has been "a profound ethical difficulty in the theory of Jesus's uniqueness from which we are now relieved. The fact is that our highest spiritual ideal will not permit us to believe that the sanguinary words put

into Jesus's mouth could proceed from a man wholly possessed with the spirit of God" (p. 51). The author seems to have great faith in the existence of these unknown individualities, but appears to have overlooked the fact that, like Paul, they put Jesus at the front rather than themselves. Whoever wrote the stories, they all make Jesus the hero of the play. Paul is busy with the preëxistent Christ, who was rich, and for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might be made rich. "God forbid that I should glory," he says, "save in the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ." Christ Jesus had come into the world to save sinners, and he refuses to know anything but Jesus Christ and him crucified. We can hardly imagine a more extraordinary vagary than this, which founds Jesus on Paul, instead of Paul on his faith in Jesus. And the other seems to be in the same condition. As said, Jesus is the hero of the drama, whoever the writer may be. We may not know very much about Jesus, but we know nothing whatever about these other people, and they seem to be largely products of the author's imagination. But with all this outfit we still seem to have no great promise of success for a new religion. The author says:

> Suppose that he [Jesus] had merely emphasized the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, though in the clearest manner, does anyone imagine that a real religion could have been established and made to endure on this simple basis in the age of Nero and in the face of Gothic invasions? (P. 73.)

We should reply, Certainly not; for establishing a real religion in the world of real men is a somewhat difficult task. And we do not think the case very much helped by referring to Paul and those other remarkable personalities. And the author himself seems to find some other foundation necessary; and here it is:

> The primitive Christianity was involved with certain very natural and fascinating ideas lying close to the border land of error, which, like alloy mixed with the gold, gave it common currency. One of these ideas, akin to the ideas of modern spiritualists, was the bodily or physical resurrection of Jesus. This appealed tremendously, as such a notion always does appeal, to the popular imagination. This was the burden of Paul's teaching, though he seems for himself not to have credited a physical resurrection so much as the repeated appearance of Jesus in his "spiritual body." The early church also seems to have looked for the miraculous

coming of their Lord from heaven to judge the world. This was an idea to conjure with and to make converts. The grand expectation in the early church that spiritual events were about to spring forth made such a book as the Apocalypse possible. Again, the early Christianity, just like Christian Science to-day, was a vigorous health cult, all the more persuasive from the common delusion that devils were the cause of disease. The Christian healer, at the magic name of Jesus, could cast out the devils and cure the sick. Imagine this idea removed from the early Christianity and try to think what would have been the collapse of faith. These three ideas, like so many strands, helped mightily to hold Christians together until the new religion came to be fortified with the priestcraft, the pomp, and power of imperial Rome. Then it largely ceased to be Jesus's religion at all (p. 73).

Here, then, is the author's account of the origin of Christianity and the Christian Church. We have first a megalomaniac, whose mania went beyond anything known in the annals of insane asylums. He contrived, however, to obsess a number of remarkable personalities with the belief of his own greatness; and these worked together, though they kept mostly out of sight, in such a way as to produce the Christian doctrine and the Christian Church. Most of the things assigned to Jesus really do not belong to him, although he plainly had some Messianic expectations and unpleasant aloofnesses. But all these things together are insufficient without the belief in the physical resurrection and second advent of Jesus, the casting out of devils, and the cure of diseases. "These great ideas like so many strands helped mightily to hold Christians together." How the belief in the resurrection could have sprung up so suddenly and done its work of inspiration so mightily without any corresponding fact is not considered. These were ideas "to conjure with," and that is enough. The church made the Jesus of history into the Christ of faith, and when we ask how the church came to exist, we have some suggestions about religious evolution in which, however, these mistaken notions play a prominent part, they being the great "strands" without which, apparently, in the author's thought, Christianity could not have endured. Of course these great strands were all errors, and we are left with the somewhat difficult problem as to how error could play so beneficent a part in the real world while the truth would have gone under without its support. It would really seem that

if error could work so well in the beginning, there is no *a priori* reason why it might not be as beneficial even in later ages. We might still find a place for a belief in the resurrection and the headship of Christ, and even in his divinity, in order to hold the faith together. Since error played so great a part and still continues to do so, with the exception of a very few enlightened spirits, there appears to be no reason why it should not continue its useful role. It may still be too early for truth to be received. Truth may be so ethereal, so ideal, as to be safe only in the upper air, being altogether too weak for the rough-and-tumble of real life. The waning fortunes of the author's own religious body, and its complete ineffectiveness in all missionary work, would seem to suggest that there is still a place for error in the form of the old gospel of Christ. And if we should adopt the orthodox conception that the Father sent the Son to manifest God to men and to be their Guide and Saviour, this one "strand" might possibly suffice without any others. It certainly must be a matter for much heart-searching on the author's part to see error up to date so far in advance of what he conceives to be the truth, and to see the truth, as he conceives it, sensibly on the wane.

The Jesus of history and the Christ of faith cannot be separated in time. Whenever we find anything in the history of the early church we find the Christ of faith. As we have already pointed out, Paul and "those other remarkable personalities" who are mentioned as the great founders of the faith make Christ himself the Founder. Certainly Paul, who calls himself a slave of Jesus Christ, was very far from looking upon Christ as a secondary Person. His thought was full of the preëxistence of Jesus. Similarly with the other remarkable personalities. They seem to be preaching the gospel of the Lord Jesus. The distinction between the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith is fictitious, for the Christ of faith is what we really find when we find anything. Paul, writing within thirty years of the crucifixion, assumes the orthodox faith to be the faith of the church, as in the passage quoted. "For ye know the grace of the Lord Jesus, that he was rich, yet for your sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be made rich." Paul did not know Jesus after the flesh, nor

very much, so far as we can learn, of the Jesus of history. But he knew the Christ of faith from the start, and in his letters he assumed that the church also knew this Christ of faith. The Gospels equally assume the Christ of faith.

Now, in order to explain this Christ of faith there must have been a corresponding Jesus of history. It required more than a simple egotist, somewhat fanatical and unpleasantly aloof, to move men in the way in which they were moved in the early Christian years, and to start a new current in religious development such as that which has come from him. Christ himself left nothing in the way of writing, and we have not many documents from that early time of any sort. But he left a company of disciples, and the story runs that he promised that the Holy Spirit should be with them to guide them into the truth, so as to make plain in the coming years what it all meant and what the divine purpose had been in the incarnation of the Divine Son. And this leads us to inquire as to what kind of a revelation we should expect in the case. Possibly a person of modern scientific tendencies would have liked to have a series of careful experiments made with appropriate affidavits and with a code of legislation drawn up so as to ward off Sadducean objection. We certainly have no revelation of that kind, and we may well doubt whether it would have been desirable. The one thing that was important was to make an impression of a character which should shine through that history and subsequent history and remain a permanent inspiration and illumination for the religious life of the race. And that seems to be, at least in orthodox thought, what we actually have, just such a revelation of infinite goodness and condescension and righteousness, which, while leaving most of the mystery untouched, nevertheless makes a revelation of God such that we can love him and trust him even where and when we do not understand. It would not seem to have been God's purpose to satisfy professional Sadducees but to make a revelation of himself to plain men and women. And such a revelation these men and women have found in the gospel story. But the author does not seem to think we have such a revelation. He finds the Jesus of the gospel, as we have said, an uncertain character, with many contradictions, unpleasant

aloofnesses, and egotisms. This, however, is a question which has to be decided by the religious worth that the picture of Jesus given in the Gospels has had for the religious life of humanity. We may dwell on the barren fig tree, or the fish with the coin in its mouth, and many another thing of that kind, and thus conceal from ourselves entirely the majestic figure of Christ which men generally have beheld through the gospel narratives. The same thing affects different people differently. One person reading Paul's words, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink, for in so doing thou shall heap coals of fire upon his head," declared it was the most infernal thing he had ever heard. In such cases there can be no argument. Men reveal themselves in their judgments. In like manner we can look upon the life of Christ and fix upon the contradictions of details or the things which may offend our taste, and may finally decide that he was a quite inferior person and very far from ideal for us. And here, too, there can be no argument. We can only appeal to the judgment of humanity in the case. It is not a question of objective historical evidence alone, but of the interpretation of the gospel story or of the impression it makes upon us. To the Jews it was a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness, but to them that believe it was and still is the power of God unto salvation. The judgment of the Christian world has most certainly not agreed with our author's estimate of the gospel narratives. As the result of their study Christians have generally set Jesus on high as the Lord of Glory, the Desire of Nations, the Hope of Humanity, the Judge of the World, and they do it still with as good right as ever. Historical study has discovered nothing that forbids this interpretation. Debate is idle. At the last the personal equation decides, and the survival of the fittest revises the decision. It is significant in this regard that the views within the Christian Church that have departed from this orthodox faith have had only a parasitic and precarious existence, and, left to themselves, have shown marked tendencies to decay. A minimum of faith has no attraction. When it comes to believing we want to believe something worth while.

The author is fully convinced of the goodness of God, and

speaks impressively of the Infinite Good Will. In this we agree with him, but it is somewhat surprising that he should fail to see that his style of criticism could be equally used to throw doubt upon the first article of the Creed, the belief in God, the Father Almighty. We have only to pick and choose, to fix our thought upon the obscure and unintelligible things, to make out a pretty strong case for pessimism and despair. To one man the heavens declare the glory of God, to another they are only a mechanical function. To one man the earth is full of the goodness of the Lord, to another the whole creation is an ache and an unrelieved horror. It is known to everyone that we have just come through a pessimistic period, and we have emerged from it not because we have any clearer insight into the works of God, but because humanity has reacted against the style of criticism that led to this unfaith. The author, too, is almost alone among thoughtful people in his estimate of the character of Christ. He finds that he is no ideal for us, and here, again, he proceeds with such bald literalness as to raise the question what he would regard as an ideal. In fact, an ideal is a rather dangerous possession unless one knows how to use it. One man hears that he must imitate Jesus, and buys a pair of sandals, or a sweater "without seam woven from the top throughout," and parts his hair in the middle, and eats unleavened bread. And another man of the same sort thinks that this will never do, and because it will not do decides that Jesus is no ideal for us. Jesus lived in Judæa; he was not married; never went to college, and knew nothing of modern democracy. How could he be an ideal for us? Of course the author does not fall into such depths as this, but much of his objection to Jesus as an ideal smacks a little of this kind of thing. Looking at nature as the work of God, we might say, on superficial study, that God himself is no ideal for us and is the last being in the universe for man to imitate. How far the author is from the ordinary judgment, not merely of Christians but of thoughtful men in general respecting the character of Christ, may appear from the following quotation from John Stuart Mill, who certainly was not excessively prone to orthodoxy:

> Above all the most valuable part of the effect on the character which

Christianity has produced by holding up in a Divine Person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation is valuable even to the absolute unbeliever and can never more be lost to humanity. For it is Christ, rather than God, whom Christianity has held up to believers as the pattern of perfection for humanity. It is the God incarnate more than the God of the Jews or of nature, who, being idealized, has taken so great and salutary a hold on the modern man. And whatever else may be taken away from us by rational criticism, Christ is still left, a unique figure, not more unlike all his precursors than all his followers, even those who had the direct benefit of his personal teaching. It is of no use to say that Christ as exhibited in the Gospels is not historical, and that we know not how much of what is admirable has been superadded by the tradition of his followers. The tradition of followers suffices to insert any number of marvels, and may have inserted all the miracles which he is reputed to have wrought. But who among his disciples or among their proselytes was capable of inventing the sayings ascribed to Jesus, or of imagining the life and character revealed in the Gospels? Certainly not the fisherman of Galilee; as certainly not Saint Paul, whose character and idiosyncrasies were of a totally different sort; still less the early Christian writers, in whom nothing is more evident than that the good that was in them was all derived, as they always professed that it was derived, from the higher source. . . . About the life and sayings of Jesus there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which, if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimation of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this preëminent genius is combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed upon earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching upon this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity; nor even now would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete than to endeavor so to live that Christ would approve our life. (Three Essays on Religion, p. 253.)

Mr. Mill did not think very highly of the God of nature, and he found relief from his difficulties in nature in thinking of Jesus; and he seems to have regarded Jesus as a worthy ideal. The author is right in thinking that the New Testament documents by themselves and apart from all connection with the Christian history do not give us much connected information. They seem to be a set of memoirs, largely limited to a brief period in the life of Jesus, which were gathered together in their present form at a much later date. There seem even to be indications that the writers did not always understand Jesus, and may not always

have correctly reported his words. But it is perfectly clear that they give no connected and extended biography. It is equally clear that they do not answer a great many of the questions which the author seems to think important. They, rather, reveal a Person somewhat shrouded in mystery and yet to most men infinitely winning and impressive. They are impressionist writings, but they have made a mighty impression. They are an impressionist picture, but out of it looks the face of One whom the church has agreed to call divine. As we have already hinted, little was said by him and nothing was written. Not much seems to have been done in the way of rules and institutions; but he left a group of disciples and, it is said, promised that his Spirit should be among men to guide them into the truth. Apparently he recognized that the truth would have to be revealed through history, and it is in that way the great revelation was to come. The kingdom of heaven was a grain of mustard seed which was to grow and be discerned and understood in its growth. This is a kind of revelation which cannot be expressed in formulas nor appreciated by unsympathetic spirits; but when we take the documents and the history and the present religious life together, the faith of the church certainly has in it less of difficulty than any of the substitutes offered for it. The aloofnesses the author refers to are there, the self-assertion, the tone of authority, the air of mystery, and they are rightly there on the Christian theory. The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us. The preëxistent Son of God humbled himself and became obedient unto death, that he might reveal God and redeem men. Given this conception, we should expect just the contradictions the author finds in the life of Christ. We should have statements in which the Divine appeared and statements in which the human appeared. We should have statements to be understood from the side of his divinity and statements to be understood from the side of his humanity. And we should expect in such a Being also something of the contradictory aspects that we find in the revelation of the God of nature. Life and law, inexorable sternness and unspeakable tenderness—both aspects are in life, and both have to be taken into account in any complete view of things. This moves on a different plane altogether from

the author's conception. He finds all severity, all assertion of the harshness of life, all recognition of the tragedy of existence too harsh and unlovely for his tenderness of feeling. But there are others who find it otherwise, who believe that great interests are at stake, that life is tragic in its possibilities, who believe also that God is no far-off Unknown, whose gifts have never cost him anything, but that he has entered into the fellowship of our suffering and our sin in an act of infinite compassion and cost to recover men to himself. And we are persuaded that this view will always command, as it always has commanded, the faith of men. If this faith should disappear, we are perfectly sure that the author's religious notions would not long command attention. When the sun has set there may be twilight for a time, but before long the twilight vanishes also. One of the most grotesque things one sometimes hears in this connection is that this view of Jesus puts him so far away from us that we can have no real sympathy with him. It is alleged to make an impassable gulf between us. Nothing further from the real religious life of men could be imagined than this. For our Saviour we do indeed need one who understands us and who can sympathize with us, but we do not need any ordinary man like ourselves. We need something mightier by far than this. What could such a man do for us? If Jesus is simply the dead son of a dead carpenter, what can he do for us or we for him? What does he know about us? Even less, perhaps, than we know about him. We really want some one who knows us altogether as our eternal companion and helper, capable of infinite sympathy and infinite aid. This has always been the faith of the church, with the scantiest exception, and we have no doubt it always will remain the faith of the church.

It is distinctly an error in scholarship to suppose that historical study is making this faith any more difficult. Indeed, the middle of the last century was a period of far greater storm and stress. The mythical theory of Strauss and the writings of the Tübingen school gave Christian scholars something to think about for a time. It can hardly be pretended by anyone acquainted with the literature that current negative writings have anything like the solid and original scholarship of those men. And in spite of a

subjective criticism that would not be tolerated in any other field of inquiry, the historical date of the leading New Testament writings has been pushed so far back as to establish the Christ of faith as the Christ of the primitive church. This is all that historical criticism can do in any case, and all that is really necessary. Whether to accept or reject this Christ of faith each must decide for himself; but nothing could well be more naïve than the fancy that the way of unfaith is easy or is becoming more so. We may add in closing that views of the sort we have been criticising have commonly failed to keep up with the progress of philosophic thought. They are generally based on a conception of the old naturalism which eliminated God from the world altogether. It was hardly willing to allow God to exist at all, but if he did exist, his sole function was to set things going and then to retire from all further connection with the world. In that view God and nature were opposed to each other and everything that had a natural explanation, as it was called, was thereby rescued from any dependence on God. When, then, an event was called natural, it had no meaning or significance. Naturalism of this sort is completely out of date in intelligent circles, and in its place we have the conception of a Divine Immanence in the world and life and history. In crude thought this immanence takes the form of a species of a deterministic pantheism which is altogether impossible, but in more enlightened thought it becomes idealistic theism, or the immanence taught by Saint Paul when he declares that in God we live and move and have our being, and that it is God who worketh in us both to will and to work of his good pleasure.

This view is fast changing the old debate over miracles and the supernatural. It is now permitted to find God in history and in the natural order as well as in signs and wonders or strange and anomalous things. But an event is no longer undivine because it is also natural. We may seek to trace the order of life in the ongoings of life and history as we trace the same order in the ongoings of the physical world; but this order in no way removes God or puts him farther away from us. The divine revelation in the largest sense now becomes an interpretation of history itself, and from this point of view it is permitted to find in the history

of the Christian Church and in the great trend of the Christian movement an exegesis of what the earlier revelation through the prophets and through the Divine Son meant. As creation is still going on in nature, being but the continuous procession of the divine will, so revelation is still going on in the minds of men; God is revealing himself more and more through his Spirit and through the life which he inspires. In some sense the older revelation continues, and in some sense it is ever being outgrown. It continues through its growth, as all organic growth continues, not in a changeless sameness but in endless self-revealing of its spirit and in new adaptations to new conditions. It is outgrown in the sense of the larger conceptions which are always arising through the increasing depth and richness of the spiritual life in its historical unfolding. And this we believe is the view to which the church will eventually come. We shall no longer be unduly concerned about signs and wonders, and we shall no longer hold that God has been banished from the world by the order he has established and maintains in it. With this conception Christianity can remain true to type and at the same time progress along the line of the orthodox faith, the faith in God, the Father Almighty, and in his Son our Lord, and in the Holy Spirit, and in the forgiveness of sins, and in the life everlasting. The antithesis of Jesus or Christ we set aside, and we rather say Jesus the Christ, the Anointed and Sent of God. This faith will never be outgrown, not even by "the religion of the future." It is too deeply rooted in history and the needs of the human soul.

Borden Parker Bowne

Art. II.—THEOLOGY AND THE HISTORICAL METHOD

It is not this paper's purpose to enter into a defense of the historical method or its place in theology. The question of its value and its full right in the Christian Church is a settled problem. It is linked with the surest progress of our intellectual life. It has the respect for facts which marks the scientific spirit, the age of realism, as against the age of speculation. It brings out the modern sense of individualism. It gives expression to the idea of development, which in some form is inseparable from our thought to-day. It has magnified the personal and spiritual as against the mechanical and external. It has enforced upon systematical theology a respect for the actual and has made it more biblical. It has aided the appreciation of the real meaning of Christianity by lifting above the dull level of the letter the mountain peaks of prophetism in the Old Testament and of gospel in the New, and it has rendered its greatest service, I believe, at the very place where it awakened the greatest fear. Men feared that with the authority of the infallible letter all authority was gone. We are learning to know better what the nature of religious authority is, and that we may have an authority which is objective without being external, which is historical and yet personal and vital. Our question is not as to the right or value of the method, but as to its final meaning for theology. The question is not merely speculative. It is a present problem that we are facing. There is a vigorous school of historical study which declares that the real effect of the historical method is to rule out all other theology. There is to be only one theological science, the historical. The historical method is to stand not only superior but sole, like the method of observation and experiment in natural science. Nothing else in theology is to bear the name of science. And now, in the name of this supreme science, the supernatural is ruled out, not as a conclusion, but as a premise, and the whole movement makes for an interpretation of Christianity as a philosophical idealism, against its conception as a positive historical revelation and a

divine redemption. Here is our issue: Have we adopted a new conception of Christianity by taking the historical method?

In order to make a difficult task simpler and more concrete it will be well to link this discussion with a particular group, the so-called religio-historical school, which includes some of the ablest critical scholars. While quite independent in their conclusions, they represent the same method and point of view. Of this fundamental agreement they are conscious. They realize, too, that they stand not only for the method but for the new interpretation of Christianity. They not only believe in this new conception, but they feel that it will win back the people alienated by the old doctrines, and so they have begun a vigorous propaganda by means of popular books and pamphlets. The movement is represented in a measure both in England and America, and its influence will be more fully felt in the future. The more thorough and clear expression among the German thinkers, however, justifies their being made the basis of our study. The religio-historical school may be considered an outgrowth of the Ritschlian movement, though this is true of but part of its adherents. In Ritschl's theology there was a double element. Its positive element was his emphasis on history and revelation. Its rationalistic element lay in his abstract conception of religion. These two elements have been apparent in the subsequent movement. Men like Kaftan, Reischle, Haering, emphasized the idea of revelation centering in Christ, and set forth in varying manner the positive content of Christianity and evangelical truth as given in this revelation. The left wing started with the general idea of religion. We must study not a dogmatic revelation but religion, and religion wherever it is found. Christianity cannot be separated from all other history. As historical, it is part of the greater whole of human happening. As religion, it is simply the flower and consummation of the movement of religion which is as broad as human life. By this road they came to a confluence with the stream of influence which still flows from Hegel. In this new group, which cannot now be called Ritschlian, we find men like Gunkel, Bousset, Troeltsch, Heitmueller, Wernle, Weinel, and Wrede. Anticipating them in part was Pfleiderer, Hegelianistic in his theology and

vigorous opponent of Ritschl. The leader of this school is Troeltsch, of Heidelberg, one of the most brilliant of German theologians to-day. Because Troeltsch as *Dogmatiker* has discussed these questions systematically we shall refer particularly to his work. Troeltsch declares truly that our general theological situation to-day is not a matter of single problems but that of the historical method and its meaning. There are two methods in theology, he holds. The old method is the dogmatic. It is really the method of Catholicism. It attempts to find an absolute authority for faith. Protestantism formerly found this in the letter of the Scripture. Now it seeks it in a supernatural history, which is different from all other history. This history is conceived as an absolute revelation, and this revelation is set up as authority. The whole is regarded under the idea of a redemption which is worked from without. This position, says Troeltsch, is impossible for anyone who accepts the historical method. History must criticise, it can never give you absolute certainty. History sees everything in relations. You cannot pick out some fact or fraction of history and give it absolute value. Every such part belongs to a larger whole, is dependent upon it, inseparable from it. The dogmatic method is an impossible attempt to rise above the limitations of history, out of the one great stream of history to separate some single current and give it a supernatural source and an absolute value. Instead of this, as historians we must study religion as we find it everywhere among men, and Christianity as part of the larger whole, that we may find at last, as the fruit of this universal movement of the human spirit, the ideals and values in which we are to believe. Thus far Troeltsch. Here, then, is the position. It appears that the exclusion of the supernatural, the opposition to the idea of a positive revelation and of Christianity as a divine redemption, the hostility to a Pauline Christianity, is not a matter of detailed results of historical study, as so often announced. It is involved essentially for this school in the very principles of the historical method. It is assumed as a starting point. Our task is set for us by this position. It is not enough for us to fight critical problems one at a time. We must ask these deeper questions: What are the true principles of the

historical method? Do they involve these conclusions? Is the historical method to be sole and final? Professor Troeltsch declares that the three principles of the historical method are those of criticism, analogy, and correlation. Let us consider these three principles.

The principle of criticism means that it is the business of the historian to test every source and every authority. We can understand the significance of this and admit its right. It is true of every historical document, as Professor Gardner has put it, that "In place of external fact of history, we have in the last resort psychological fact as to what was believed to have taken place. To pass from the psychologic to the external fact is precisely the task which modern historians find set before them." Protestantism has no absolute external authority which it tries to remove from such criticism. It will not accept the authority of Pope, or council, or church, nor does it set up the Scriptures in this sense as a fixed, external standard. That would involve not only external and mechanical inspiration, but would demand authority for interpretation (the church) and a supernaturally fixed canon. The report of the late Papal Commission on Genesis indicates what such a position involves. The Scriptures are historical writings. We believe they contain the record of God's revelation, but we must scrutinize and compare and criticise, and the more earnestly and honestly because of what is at stake for us. But the principle of criticism means something more for this school. It means that no fact of the past can be absolutely established, and that therefore the historical can never be the basis of Christian certainty or yield an authority for Christian faith. To this larger question of the relation of faith and history we must turn later. So much can be said here: What is really involved is not the divorce of history and faith, but the limits of historical science, which can no more ground our faith than can any other science. More and more clearly we see that, though Jesus of Nazareth is the great Personage of history, the New Testament writers are not primarily historians. The Gospels are proclamations of faith, like the rest of the New Testament; it is the preaching of the early church. That preaching does not

come with historical proof or scientific certainty, but it can do for men to-day what it did then. The living God still speaks to us through these words, and as in the first generation, with the living word spoken by the first disciples, it can still convince the open heart that in that history the Eternal came among men. The second principle which Troeltsch suggests is that of analogy. We understand the past because that which happened there is analogous to that which was happening elsewhere and which happens now. It is the task of the historian, realizing this, to understand the past from within, sympathetically to appreciate and live it over. Nor do we exclude Scriptural history from this principle. Is it not the heart of our faith that the final revelation of God was in One who came "in the likeness of sinful flesh"? It is because he is Son of man that the sons of men can understand him; he can speak to them. Here is Paul, with his unique personality and his marvelous experience. His judges thought him mad, and he once called himself a fool. But we have learned Christ ourselves and we know the rich meaning and the deep reasonableness of that life. The analogy of our own experience, though it may not measure with his, gives the key for its understanding. It is in this sense, that of the appreciation from within, that the historian must make psychology fundamental for his work. But the principle of analogy as used by this school means something very different. Troeltsch speaks of the "omnipotence of analogy" which "involves the similarity in principle of all historical occurrence." What we have here is not the analogy which helps us to understand the past, but the analogy which determines what the past could have been. It is not a key but a norm, a law. It is evidently the idea of the uniformity of nature that comes into play here. The religious nature of man is everywhere and always the same, and will always manifest itself in the same manner. These laws of the religious life, or analogies, the historian must trace out, and this will determine his interpretation of other religions. The writings of this school are full of this use of analogy. It is applied with a wealth of learning and the greatest industry. Its purpose is generally the same: to bring down the higher to the level of the lower, to use the primitive in order to

determine what the advanced must be. It is applied in two directions, which may be considered separately. The first has regard to those forms and ideas in which religion expresses itself. It is refreshing to hear these men protest against superrefined literary criticism and the overemphasized study of the doctrinal or intellectual side. The first business of the theologian, they declare, is the study of religion. Unfortunately, their conception of religion neutralizes this advantage. Religion appears as a sort of native force with which men are endowed, and which has its own natural laws of development by which it comes to expression everywhere in the same forms of cultus, the same myths and ideas. Nominally, they admit the supernatural element. Indeed, they reproach us with narrowness in limiting this to one religion. In reality, however, religion is not God disclosing himself to man and lifting man into the fellowship of holiness, but the evolution of a native force working out according to its own necessary laws. We can understand now how the principle of analogy is applied. We know how it has been used where men juggled with the phrase of evolution. The highest religions are explained by the primitive in which they find their source, and the primitive forms, in turn, give us the rule for interpreting the higher. Thus Troeltsch declares that "the primitive religions give the foundation and the means of explanation for all the more complex forms, forming the fruitful womb for all new religious forms and the substratum which persists under all higher religions." Heitmueller's monograph on the phrase "In Jesus's Name" is a typical illustration. From every source of primitive faith and superstitious practice he brings together the illustrations of the belief in the magical power of the name and its use in incantation and prayer. The heaping up of these analogies is to prove that we have in the Christian phrase such a magical survival. In the same way this writer takes up the question of Paul's view of the sacraments. Primitive religion is full of its sacrificial meals. Christianity has the same in the Lord's Supper. The lower must again explain the higher, and the principle of analogy must serve to prove identity. And so Heitmueller proves that for Paul the sacraments have a magical efficacy which lies in the form or act itself.

Gunkel's work on the Religio-Historical Interpretation of the New Testament gives illustration for the great events of the life of Christ. He searches out the analogies in other religions for the stories of infancy, for baptism and temptation, transfiguration and resurrection, as well as for many other ideas in the New Testament. There may not be a single instance in which he has a case strong enough to stand alone, but the heaping up of these analogies is meant to convey the same general idea: the primitive is the source of the later, and the lower must be used to teach us what the higher means.

With all the show of learning there is something very superficial in this study of phrases and forms. The mere language of religion, whether in phrase or form of cultus, shows a marvelous persistence, but the heart of religion is in the new spirit, which may speak the speech of other days, but which fills these words with new meaning. Cremer's great work on New Testament Greek still justifies its main purpose by showing how the new faith transformed the old speech which became its chief organ. Love can never again mean what it did before Christ lifted that word from sensuality and passion, or from mere natural inclination, and made it the symbol of the greatest moral power on earth and the revelation of the heart of God. We interpret Paul not by looking back to pagan customs, but by looking at that new faith and spirit to which he gave classical expression. And Paul stands not merely for the doctrine of grace, but for the great truth that the Spirit of God in man means a new moral and spiritual life. Fellowship with God is moral, and a moral fellowship cannot come from a magical rite. The same issue appears when it comes to the application of this principle of analogy to the study of great personalities. History must be psychological, we are told, in order to be scientific. But what does that mean? Does it mean the sympathetic attempt to enter into the inner life of great men in order to appreciate them? Then it is true, but it is not new. Does this refer to modern psychology, naturalistic, studying the inner life only so far as it illustrates general laws which are everywhere the same? Then it is useless or misleading. How shall we do justice to Paul if we insist that his experiences must conform

to the common modes of man's life? And what shall we say of Jesus? But this is exactly what is attempted. This is assumed as a principle of scientific history. I know that you can pick out the declarations here and there with these writers concerning the ultimate mystery of every personality. But in actual historical treatment this mystery does not enter in. If there is any place where the mystery appears in the life of Paul it is in his vision and conversion. But scientific history demands that Paul's experience here must be in analogy with the common experience of men, and so the great event is finally reduced to an epileptic seizure and hallucination. Most of the so-called lives of Jesus are examples in point. The New Testament gives us a Person, not a history, least of all any basis for working out a psychological development of Jesus's inner life. A striking illustration of this position is seen in the critical treatment of the great passage of Matt. 11. 27: "No one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him." Pfleiderer declares that Jesus did not speak these words, that he could not have spoken them. Certainly, if the principle of analogy means that the experience of Jesus could not transcend that of common man, Pfleiderer's position holds, for we know of no other human consciousness which could have given expression to that thought. All this is simply the effort at a naturalistic scheme of things, which can conceive no history without its general laws of happening, to which all things must be leveled down. Is not all this a misconception of what history means and of what historical studies should be? The rationality of natural science rests upon the power to reduce events to general laws. If you do that with history there is nothing left. Science has no place for the individual, history lives upon it. The scientist must leave the individual aside. The plant interests him, not as an individual plant, but as one of the species. Even a chance peculiarity would concern him only as it illustrated a general law. The historian considers not what is the same, but what is different, not that which simply repeats, but that which happens once. It is the individual with which he deals, the individual in the realm of personality. He may be a determinist, but as a historian he

must work on the principle that men make history. The modern historical school under the influence of the ideas of natural science is misusing the principle of analogy in the search for general laws. It is failing in its first task, the study of the individual and the appreciation of those personalities who make history and who are more than illustrations of general laws. It has so overemphasized the idea of continuity in history as to change it to the principle of identity. It has failed to see that the meaning of human history is in the forward look and the forward step, and not the ceaseless round in which nature repeats itself.

We turn now to the third principle, that of correlation. It is inseparable from our modern idea of what history implies. The interest of history is in the individual, but the individual is never alone. You can draw no lines in history to separate one part from the rest. The man is linked to his age, the age is joined to what has gone before, the single nation is part of a larger whole. Nor can we isolate one section of history and call it sacred and study it simply by itself. Israel had its environment in the stream of history, and that environment was religious as well as social and political. The humanity of Jesus means something more than an abstract doctrine of two natures. He was a Child of a given race, instructed in its religion and speaking its language, and he lived in a given age. How much that special age, with its social, political, and religious influences, meant for the beginnings of Christianity we have not yet measured. Christianity is historical, and things historical are things which are in specific relations and must be studied in those relations. In all this there is nothing new, nor is there anything here to conflict with the Christian idea of revelation or redemption. That idea does not exclude God from other than Christian history, or imply that he was not speaking to other men or nations. We do believe that God was working out special purposes for all men through this special line of history, and we hold that he found here a special organ for his self-disclosure, and that in the fullness of time the work was wrought and the full disclosure made in Jesus Christ. I know how many minds there are who are fearful that God is absent because man is present. But we have learned

that the human and the divine do not exclude each other, that we do not need to say impossible things about the Scriptures to save them as the Word of God. If once we have seen that clearly, we shall not be concerned about the relations of Babel and Bible. We need not be troubled by old cosmogonies in Genesis or current apocalyptic ideas in Revelation, nor when the religious influences of the age come closer to the heart of the New Testament. The revelation in Christianity is historical, and historical revelation means a revelation conditioned not only by the human factor in its immediate agents but by its whole environment. Our question lies deeper. Is God really present in this history—acting, directing, self-revealing? Is he not only *in* this history but more than this history? Or is the divine here simply the sum of human forces, everywhere the same and everywhere pressing on in the same blind fashion? It is the question of the real personality of God and of his transcendence.

It is this truth which does not come to its own in this modern historical school. Like the principle of analogy, the principle of correlation seems to be conceived on the naturalistic order. It corresponds to the principle of the conservation of energy and correlation of forces. Troeltsch speaks of the " mutual interaction of all phenomena of the historical-spiritual life, so that no change can occur at any point without preceding and succeeding change at some other, so that all occurrence . . . must form one stream in which all and each belong together." What this means is made more clear by Troeltsch's protest against what he calls the dogmatic method. What is the sin of the dogmatic position? It holds to the supernatural as a real and determining factor in history. It makes the historical method impossible. Now, there is only one history which the dogmatic method can make impossible. It is a history where all things are joined together in a strict causal connection, and where all development proceeds from a self-sufficient unity of immanent forces. The principle has been very clearly expressed by the historian Von Sybel: "The certainty of knowledge stands or falls with this presupposition, that there is an absolute development according to law, the common unity of existing things. If it were not for this, or if this could be inter-

rupted in any way, then all certainty of conclusion and all connection of events would be surrendered, and all calculations as to human beings would be given up to chance. The two sources of historical knowledge would be overwhelmed." I do not mean to say that this historical school stands for naturalism, for a merely causal explanation in history. I wish simply to make plain that their protest against the supernatural is consistent only from this standpoint. The historian, as such, has no right to protest against the supernatural. It is one thing to study events in their relations. That is his task. It is another to declare that they are causally determined by those relations. That is not history but dogmatism, the popular philosophy of a naturalistic or pantheistic evolution. It is not implied in the historical method. No mastery of method, no perfection of historical knowledge, could ever have enabled the student to put his finger on the point where the tides of influence converged and say, "Here a Paul," "Here a Jesus of Nazareth." The causal explanation of history implies the possibility of such prediction, and such prediction is an absurdity. "History depends upon the men who will make it." Correlation, then, does not mean causal dependency. It is true that naturalistic science, as such, cannot consider the miracle. But historical science has no right to suppress either the significance of human personality or that direct play of divine personality which we call the supernatural.

In the actual work of criticism we constantly meet illustrations of the position which has been opposed above. History seems to be a sort of a rearrangement of ultimate elements which themselves remain constant. In the introduction, sometimes, or the appendix of these works we have an appreciation of personality, its mystery, its originality. In actual operation the business of history seems to be to point out that cause equals effect; the age, the institution, the man, is the sum of that which surrounds or goes before. The suppression of the significance of human personality goes hand in hand with the elimination of the supernatural, of the direct movement of the divine personality. In many ways the great dividing question in theology to-day is the question of the relation of Jesus and Paul. The weakness of this method,

which looks at external causes rather than personal forces, at the old that remains rather than at the new and its meaning, is well illustrated in the treatment of these problems. Here is the question of the Person of Christ, the early church's faith in his resurrection, his work as a Saviour of men, his divine Sonship. What shall explain this? Is it not Jesus himself, and what he wrought for those disciples? No. The men who were sounding the praises of Jesus a moment ago are now searching Judaism or Oriental religions for analogies to explain the church's Christology. Listen to Gunkel explaining the faith in the resurrection: We know, from the comparative study of religions, of divine beings who died and rose again. It is true, we cannot find any such idea in official Judaism, "but there is nothing to oppose the assumption that this existed in certain secret circles." The idea must have come to the disciples indirectly from paganism through Judaism. That the resurrection occurred on Easter Sunday at the rising of the sun points to the Oriental celebration of the day, the turning from winter to summer in the Babylonian religion. Or turn to the crux of the problem, Paul's Christology. Paul does not, indeed, stand alone in his estimate of the Person of Christ. We have no sources to indicate that the early church had any different conception, and we know that, with all of Paul's conflicts, on this point he was never accused of being an innovator. But Paul's Christology has given expression to the faith of nineteen centuries. The modern historical school must find its sources. What were they? "Paul's Christology," says Wernle, "does not come from the impression of Jesus himself, or the working out of what he did and said. It is the transfer of a bold speculation to the historical person of Jesus." Gunkel finds the secret of New Testament Christology in various ideas which had been attached to the Judaistic conception of the Messiah and which were transferred to that of Jesus. It is true, as Gunkel admits, we know nothing of this Judaistic Christology, but, he calmly adds, "We must assume it in order to understand the New Testament." And elsewhere Wernle uses this astounding word: "Jesus came to the Greeks in the form of a dramatic myth. Again they had the story of a god, and from the most recent time. This conquered the world."

Let me point out two marvelous things in these expressions. In the first place, it is a most remarkable feat of putting the pyramid on its apex. Wrede insists that Paul is the second founder of Christianity, that the great leaders of the church, from the author of the fourth Gospel through Athanasius and Augustine down to Luther and Calvin, all had their inspiration from him. And yet he suggests that the decisive event to which this man traces back his career was an hallucination joined to an epileptic seizure. These writers agree that the heart of that conception of Christianity which has dominated these ages lies in Paul's Christology. Wernle calls it the "myth that conquered the world." But the origin of this Christology is not that matchless personality which dominated those disciples. Gunkel says distinctly: "The Christology was not so much formed to sound the mystery of his person, as though Jesus were primus and the Christology second; rather, the souls which longed for the nearness of God, which had need of a Son of God appearing from heaven, transferred to him these ideals of their hearts." And for these ideals, for the forms of this faith, Gunkel must invent a supposed source in current Judaism which was fed, in turn, by pagan myths. On such a precarious apex the whole massive pyramid of Christianity is balanced, that Christianity which not only conquered the old world but which was never more aggressive than to-day, or more dominant over the thoughts of men: a longing set for a faith, a myth turned into a creed, an hallucination founding a theology, and the greatest Person of history misunderstood and displaced by this creation of his disciples. All this suggests the second marvel in this position, the failure to find the real forces that make history. The one factor that Christian faith sets first has been pushed aside—the living presence of that God who can come into personal fellowship with men. When you suppress that source you cannot rightly evaluate those great personalities, like Paul, who found here the spring of their being and power and who became in turn the creative factors for new movements of history. Too few of these historians do justice to Paul's own declaration, "For me to live is Christ."

Some results may now be summed up in answer to the ques-

tion, "What does the historical method imply for theology? The principles of historical study do not rule out the supernatural. Only a naturalistic scheme of mechanical causation could imply that, with a pantheistic idea of a kind of spiritual conservation of energy and correlation of forces. The world of history is the personal world. Even human personality will break through such a scheme. The law of the personal world is not quantitative equivalence, not cause equals effect. Its mark is not sameness, but difference. To recognize this leaves play for human personality, but equally so for the divine. There is no more rationality in the exclusive immanence of pantheistic evolution than in Christian theism. The rationality of natural science depends upon the tracing out of general laws of cause and effect. The rationality of history lies in the great ideal achievements which mark the goal of history's movements, and in tracing these back to adequate origins. And those origins are never apart from creative personalities who are themselves inexplicable. These actual forces of history mark its great tasks and its limits. To these the new history must do better justice than it yet has done. One point we left for consideration—the relation of history and faith. By its principle of criticism this school denies that faith can find a ground for certainty in anything historical. By its principle of relativism it refuses to see anywhere in history the absolute as authority for faith. Each fact is but part of a larger stream and flows out of it. Nowhere can you say, in absolute sense, This is the finger of God. And yet these men have their faith, and an aggressive faith too. What do they put in place of the old certainty of God's direct and final revelation in Christian history? Briefly stated, it is an evolutionary idealism of a pantheistic trend. Troeltsch has outlined it. Instead of any special revelation, we have a "Reason ruling in history and progressively revealing itself." Revelation becomes practically equivalent to man's religious intuitions. History shows us a revelation of the divine depths of the human spirit, and of the development of faith "out of its own consistent character, and that means out of the impelling power of God." History is thus the "unfolding of the divine Reason." It is an "ordered succession, in which the central depth

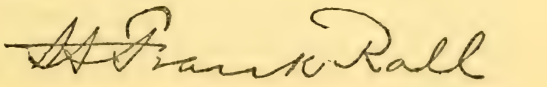
and truth of the spiritual life of man mounts upward out of the transcendent Ground of the Spirit, in the midst of struggle and error of every kind, but yet with the logical necessity of a normally begun development." This is simply a modified Hegelianism, a development through immanent forces according to rational necessity. You may say the necessity is grounded in the World-Spirit, and these forces are God. Then you have a religion. But there is no God except these immanent forces. To criticise this position is not a part of our subject. But we may note three points: 1. This position has nothing to do with historical science. It is not a scientific conclusion at all. It is a leap of faith. The historian here runs into the dogmatic camp which he has been fighting. It does not change the situation one whit to speak of this as the modern world view, or as required by the conclusions of modern science. This is Hegelianistic philosophy. It is simply a question of one faith against another. 2. The hard facts of history will not sustain the easy optimism of this Hegelian evolution. Who can look upon this tangle of human history, upon its darkness and superstition, upon its age-long failures, upon the wide sweep of paganism to-day in distant lands, and even in our own, and then stake his faith upon a philosophy which sees the inherent rationality of it all, "the logical necessity of a normally begun development"? 3. This position has illegitimately influenced the historical method of many scholars. It has minimized the meaning of personality, agreeing here with naturalism. It has ruled out the supernatural, that is, the divine Personality, for it leaves no God but the sum of those immanent forces which may be called God or man as you will.

We come back, then, to our question of history and faith. How is faith to find certainty if we still tie up Christianity with a given history? We answer that certainty cannot rest either upon philosophy or upon historical science. Kant made plain the first. Historical study, on the other side, shows us that there may be no absolute historical certainty on which faith can rest. But that does not mean that we are to give up the historical Christ. We have to-day what the first generation had to which the disciples preached. We have the confession of faith of the early church.

These men did not labor primarily to tell the words of Jesus or to give his biography. Their subject was not a history, but a gospel. That gospel in history we have to-day. Mark every point in which Matthew differs from Luke, or Paul and John stand over against the synoptics. In one point they all agree, that Jesus is Son of God and Saviour of men. And the effort scientifically to go back of this gospel, and set up Jesus himself against this estimate of the faith of his first disciples, has signally failed. It cannot scientifically be done. In other words, historical criticism does not rule out this Christ and his gospel for faith. So far this means simply that the door is not blocked against us. What do we find when we enter? If we look with open and willing hearts, we find that which the first disciples and their hearers found, that in this Man's life and love and death the living God moved, and that in him the living God speaks and comes to us now. Higher than historical certainty, higher than human philosophy, above any letter of sacred page, is this Spirit of the living God. And he must speak before faith and certainty can be. The gospel lives to-day and grounds our faith because he speaks through it still as of old. Historical criticism has taken away our confidence in the letter, it has not shut the door for faith.

There has been much written of late of the religion of to-morrow. With the note of the social and the humanitarian, no one need contend. They belong in the gospel. But Dr. Eliot's religion, like that we have been considering, is deficient in two elements that belonged to the religion of yesterday and that will be present in the final religion. The first is the full Christian idea of personality, the personality of God first of all. That means more than a scientific conception of universal energy, or an omnipotent good nature raised to the throne of the universe by a sentimental religion. Over against naturalism and pantheism we need to hold this truth in all its meaning. It means a living God, with power and purpose and holiness. It means the supernatural, not primarily as the miraculous, but as implied in the Christian faith in the living God. Immanent in history as in nature, he is yet more than the sum of the forces resident and active in these. In that history he makes himself increasingly known, until men see

at last "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ." That is revelation. Through that history he works out his eternal purposes for men, purposes whose meaning and power center in Jesus Christ, though only the ages shall consummate them. That is redemption. Into that history he enters as a personal presence to lead men into personal fellowship with himself. That is religion—religion in its final sense, not simply as a social ideal or an ethical task, but as a personal relation. And here the real meaning of human personality comes in, which can be held only on the foundation of a strong doctrine of the personality of God. With our socialized religion, and our humanized religion, there are other facts to be taken into account; they spring from the depths of man's personality and his relation to this personal God: human freedom and responsibility, human sin and guilt, and man's need of God's mercy. This double meaning of the personal has been endangered by the wrong use of the historical method. It must be present in the religion of to-morrow. And the historical will be present in the religion of to-morrow. It will not put Jesus of Nazareth and his meaning for men into a five-line postscript. Our systems come and go, the wisest and the best. We shall have others still. And we shall need them—the theologies in which we try to interpret for the church of our age the meaning of God's revelation. But greater than all these is the revelation itself; the fact that the eternal God has been made manifest to men, that in Jesus Christ his will of mercy and his presence to save have come into the history of human kind. The historical is not a problem for our faith, but a foundation without which it were not faith enough for the storms of life. Religion is more than an inspiration, an ideal, a program, an evolution. It is more than man reaching up to God. It is God coming to men. In the faith that God has so come in our history the human heart will find its rest and strength, as it ever has. And in that truth, that has won the ages past, we shall find our conquering evangel for the days to come.



Art. III.—A FRIEND OF LAMB'S: WILLIAM HAZLITT

In America there are probably ten readers of the Essays of Elia to one who has thumbed the pages of Winterslow. Hazlitt has made his way but slowly in this country. And yet every lover of Lamb is almost sure to love that friend whom he called "one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing." For Hazlitt, like the immortal Elia, possessed to the full that rare and fine thing, the literary temperament—something quite other and better than the modern "artistic temperament." He enjoyed good literature—how he did enjoy it!—and he was able to communicate this enjoyment to any sympathetic reader. And he did not enjoy mediocre or bad literature. Herein lies his great value as an impressionistic critic. But he was not merely a critic; he was a master of the familiar essay, and, again like Lamb, revels in autobiography without ever being egotistical. As I turn once more the pages of Table Talk, Sketches and Essays, or English Poets, I feel with renewed confidence that that person of literary taste who has not yet read Hazlitt may experience, if he will, the joy of a discoverer. Why, then, is Hazlitt so long in coming into his own? Largely, I suspect, on account of his personal qualities. Upon first acquaintance he is to many good people a strange paradox. His qualities as a man and as a writer seem scarcely reconcilable: in the former character he was awkward, shy, captious, morbidly suspicious, and with his too abundant store of sentiment prone to play the fool; in the latter character he was easy, brilliant, often bold beyond measure, frank without egotism, and always admirably effective. His genius, wayward, yet to a certain degree self-justifying, refuses to linger within the pale of the small critic's rules. Never was there a man who called for more breadth and generosity of estimate. He declines to be ranked either as optimist or pessimist; he was one, or both, or neither, all in the space of a single essay. Essentially, then, he was a person of moods. Variety was to him not only the spice of life but, one suspects, a large part of food as well. He had an inordinate craving for sympathy, but

apparently not always a proportionate quantity to bestow. In short, despite Proctor's assertion that "no man was competent to write upon Hazlitt who did not know him personally," one is not unlikely to feel, when particularly exasperated by some of Hazlitt's displays of the varieties of iniquity which in orthodox days were believed to derive from Adam, that one wishes to know him thus chiefly in order to forget him in the writer.

Here his fame and title, so long denied him even in his own country, are now secure. The dull-witted sneers of the Quarterly and the ruffian abuse of Blackwood's no longer annoy him. William Gifford and John Wilson are fast receding into forgetfulness, while Hazlitt, despite their attacks, as petty as they were dastardly, has risen to his place of pride. The complete edition of his works published but a very few years since is one of his rewards from posterity. This abuse he owed to the fact that he was a political Dissenter, a Radical deep-rooted. His, moreover, was not the diffidence of dissent, but its dissidence. He prided himself upon being no government tool. In many beliefs he ranked under a party which had but one member—William Hazlitt. He was nothing if not independent. Naturally, this drew upon him the malignity—for it was no less—of the King's men. By a libelous review of his Characters of Shakespeare's Plays, they killed at once the further sale of the book, which had for several months been popular. Then, to make assurance doubly sure, they maintained a fire upon him during the remainder of his life, retarding his just recognition and blighting his career. They dubbed him "pimpled Hazlitt"—not because it was true but because it would serve as well with Tory readers. They called him a "poor, cankered creature." In fact, they endeavored to make him an object to point the finger at. After a Blackwood's, he was fearing descents from his creditors or landlord for the next week, and scarce dared look a passer-by in the face. Through it all, it is true, he kept his principles: he was not a man to be bullied; yet he felt, despite his sturdy rejoinders, that he had the worst of this unequal contest, and the knowledge embittered him. After that stormy setting of Napoleon's power at Waterloo there were few hours of Hazlitt's life which could be reckoned by a sun-dial. Thenceforth

he took refuge in the memories of his early days. His spirit of dissent was, perhaps, due in part to his undeniable love of combat; but it is hardly just to accept De Quincey's cavalier assertion that Hazlitt's motto was, "Whatever is, is wrong." Both his pugnaciousness and his dissent he imbibed from his father, a Dissenting clergyman of Irish blood, who designed that his son should also follow this profession. But William had little enough of the endowment of a clergyman. The blood which ran warm in his veins very early protested against the paternal wishes; indeed, one soon finds him a freethinker—independent in this as in all other respects.

Meanwhile the first great experience of his life had come upon him—his meeting with Coleridge, in 1798, Hazlitt being then in his twentieth year. Here, certainly, from his enthusiastic account in that memorable essay, "My First Acquaintance with Poets," [1] a new planet swam into his ken. Coleridge was to him an inspired bard, an oracle of truth, speaking withal in a voice whose tones were a spell unto his listeners, rising, his worshiper tells us, "like a steam of rich, distilled perfumes." Hazlitt was then at his father's home, in Wem, Shropshire. The ten muddy miles to Shrewsbury, where Coleridge was to preach, he covered with eager expectation—an expectation exceeded, however, by the reality, which only his own words can properly relate. He soon afterward met the poet at Wem, and listened in silence to accents which were for him those of a new existence. "The past was a sleep, and his life began." An invitation to Nether Stowey, where Coleridge then resided, filled his cup of happiness. This man exercised more influence on Hazlitt's life than anyone else. In spite of Coleridge's later apostasy from the principles of the French Revolution, which Hazlitt never forgave, he was always an idol, "the only person I ever knew," declares his disciple, "who answered to the idea of a man of genius." But, hero-worshiper though he was, Hazlitt had few friends and retained fewer. His irritable temperament and love of solitude—one of his most delightful essays [2] dilates on the joys of going on a journey alone—did not recommend him to the give-and-take of comradeship. One cynically

[1] In Winterslow. [2] "On Going a Journey" (Table Talk).

suspects that he got more comfort out of his hatreds than out of his friendships; he declared himself "the king of good haters." Here only was he methodical. He may be said to have kept his personal hatreds in a kind of mental ledger, and was never satisfied unless the accounts balanced. A list of his dislikes would be amusing: it would certainly include kings, pedants, blue-stockings, country people, tyranny, Methodism, long friendships, the Society for the Suppression of Vice, the Royal Academy, the conversation of lords, the House of Commons, and the sound of the ocean! Besides these, moreover, he had a large assortment of "imperfect sympathies."

Yet it were ill justice to omit to record that his likes were as many and as intense as his dislikes. His favorite books he loved beyond measure. He delights in telling us the time and circumstances in which he perused them; how he sat up all night at a country inn to finish Paul and Virginia. His early years, however, form the only period in which he accomplished much reading; for, as he himself says, he ceased to read when he began to write—which was not, it is true, until he was past thirty. His literary criticism seems to have begun with a paper in the Edinburgh Review in 1815, though for a few years earlier he had been contributing short articles to Leigh Hunt's Examiner. His powers were therefore matured before he made any important estimate. And into literature he carried a serenity quite foreign to what would be expected of him as a man. He was another Hazlitt, and a better. That was an acute and sympathetic remark of Thackeray's concerning him: "It was always good to know what were the impressions made by books, or men, or pictures on such a mind." Although he was an impressionist, he was almost invariably safe. On most literary works and problems he was fitted to speak *ex cathedra;* his sensuous and poetic nature enabled him to place himself *en rapport* with nearly any theme, to exercise both a sympathetic receptiveness and a disinterested judgment. He always saw deep into his men and their works; his essays are never barren, never commonplace. He has, moreover, that final power of a critic, the knack of getting at the heart of a thing. His are the *bon mots* of criticism. He writes a phrase where your small critic

covers a page. When he has finished his discussion of Spenser or Crabbe, one feels a sense of satisfaction which does not always accompany a perusal of some modern "literary" essays which illustrate the scientific method and reveal the scientific temperament. In Hazlitt the whole is so good reading that you forget it is mere criticism. He is kin with those on whom he pronounces; the author is tried by his peer. One stops here to ask, Of how many critics since Hazlitt can this be said? And, as Mr. Saintsbury has well suggested, he never praised a defect.

Concerning his powers of estimate a few reservations must naturally be made. He is occasionally prone to use a superlative where it is scarcely warranted. His enthusiastic assertion that Mrs. Inchbald's stories are as if written by Venus herself is perhaps harmless enough, since Venus never wrote anything; but it is, shall we say, fancy rather than judgment. More reprehensible are his few but violent prejudices. Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets, for example, he finds unendurable; and no less hearty is his contempt for Shelley's work. But such critical aberrations are rare in his volumes. If we add that he failed to recognize Byron's power as a satirist, we have mentioned most of the important ones. Nor ought we to find much with which to quarrel in his general method—or lack of method—of criticism; he is often desultory but seldom either careless or slipshod. Many of his verdicts seem written in a genial, after-dinner mood. All of his critical papers were apparently done rapidly. He went down to Winterslow, to a lonely country house where he loved to work, and spent six weeks with a pile of Elizabethan dramas. When he returned he had not only read them all but had penned his lectures as well. This we may think discreditable haste—until we have read the lectures. The pages on Dekker have, I think, never been surpassed. In much of his work, both in this and other periods, Hazlitt was a pioneer—a pioneer, that is to say, in furnishing correct and well-rounded estimates. Moreover, many of his specific assertions are far in advance of those of his contemporaries—his defense, for example, of the clown scenes in Shakespeare's tragedies. Lamb's remarks on the Elizabethan period are also excellent, but when Swinburne speaks of "the Hazlitts prattling at his

heels" he talks nonsense. If there was anything that Hazlitt did not do it was to prattle at anybody's heels. He was the first to do justice to the fine genius and character of Swift, anticipating similar verdicts from Forster, Mr. Craik, and Churton Collins by more than fifty years. He even forgave Swift for being a Tory. Of Gulliver's Travels he says: "I cannot see the harm, the misanthropy, the immoral and degrading tendency of all this. The moral lesson is as fine as the intellectual exhibition is amusing. It is an attempt to tear off the mask of imposture from the world; and nothing but imposture has a right to complain of it." How firmly has posterity placed upon these words the golden seal, "Well said"! Not only in his studies of past literature, moreover, did he display these admirable qualities, but in studies much more difficult—so difficult, indeed, that few modern critics have succeeded in them. His estimates of contemporary literature are remarkably sane and penetrating. With extremely few exceptions he reveals astonishing ability to gain perspective, to detach himself from his time and its associations, and to view its poetry and prose in the clear light of an alien. A crucial test of this ability is his estimate of Wordsworth, favorable and true when almost all other contemporary estimates were unfavorable and untrue. One sees in Hazlitt's pages no such tirade as Jeffrey's over Wordsworth's "childishness," "perverseness," "silly sooth," "babyish absurdity," "trash," "hubbub of strained raptures," "poetical intoxication,"and the like, which are but a few examples of the Scotch editor's billingsgate. Hazlitt pronounced Wordsworth the most original poet of the age, averring, furthermore, that he had described nature better than any other poet. His praise of the "Excursion" was tempered with considerable frank and well-deserved censure; but his commendation of the poet's best work is proved unmistakably by his boldly expressed preference of Wordsworth to Byron. It took courage to voice such an opinion at a time when the author of "Childe Harold" was at the full blaze of his fame; but Hazlitt was never one who hesitated to speak his mind. To his credit be it said that if he was sometimes a rather querulous dissenter, he was never a shuffler, a feeler of popular sentiment. If he saw that a thing was good, he said so,

whether one or a million were on his side. And all this he said justly; for by his remarkable gift of swift insight he was qualified to do it. Beside so thoroughly unqualified a person as Lord Jeffrey—whose worst critical remarks illustrate Hazlitt's strictures in his paper "On the Conversation of Lords"—he "sticks fiery off indeed." Jeffrey, in the eyes of posterity, forfeits all right to pronounce on Wordsworth by his pitiful inability to distinguish his good qualities and good poems from his bad qualities and bad poems. No such bathos of criticism yawns in Hazlitt's work. If we look forward to Matthew Arnold, we find in his literary verdicts correspondence to those of Hazlitt, not only on Wordsworth but also on our other great poets. No higher tribute than this need be paid to Hazlitt's permanent value. Like Arnold, he possesses the illuminating phrase, the power of brief and telling characterization, the wise emphasis, the salutary severity, the determination to stamp nothing great that is mediocre, which mark the truly inspiring critic. Nothing has been better proved than that the adequate critic of poets must himself be at soul a poet. Herein Jeffrey often failed; herein Gifford miserably failed; and herein many a modern hopelessly flounders. But of Hazlitt it may be repeated that "It was always good to know what were the impressions made by books, or men, or pictures on such a mind."

Of his comment upon painting and the stage I shall make no mention; but in this he showed the same nicety of touch as in his literary criticism. His references to pictures and artists are frequent throughout his works. And despite his desultory methods he had a set of critical principles sufficiently well formulated in his mind. His impressions are not lawless, random, or inconsistent; he did not, like Jeffrey, say one thing to-day and another to-morrow. Moreover, though it has been urged that the range of his reading and, consequently, of his estimate, was not wide, yet he touched upon nearly all of our great names in English letters. It may be admitted that he was not a comprehensive and deep scholar; but what he said of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra may be applied to himself—his genius has spread over the whole field of his judgments "a richness like the overflowing of the

Nile." Says Mr. Saintsbury,[1] with pardonable enthusiasm: "He is the critic's critic as Spenser is the poet's poet; that is to say, he has, errors excepted and deficiencies allowed, the greatest proportion of the strictly critical excellences—of the qualities which make a critic—that any English writer of his craft has ever possessed."

His miscellaneous familiar essays, of which he wrote a great number, refuse to be ranked so conveniently. Hazlitt's powers are probably even more characteristically revealed in them than in his critical papers. But they are a genus Hazlitt—as unique as Lamb's Essays of Elia. His desultory methods were better suited to this form of composition than to any other. We expect no system, or ought to expect none. Shall we ask for a systematic treatise "On a Sun-Dial"? Or on "My First Acquaintance with Poets"? Or "On Living to One's Self"? Obviously what is requisite here is interest; and to secure interest the author must have a brilliant mind, a fund of illustration, abundant imagery, recollections, the fruits of unplanned meditations over uncounted cups of fabulously strong tea—Hazlitt's substitute for pipe and bowl. All these desirable things Hazlitt gives his readers. I am tempted to say that in his choicest personal essays he is the best company in the world. The sources of this charm it is not easy to explain, and even less easy to generalize upon, since each essay has a flavor of its own. But, unquestionably, one main source is the personal spell: on every page the author is telling us in one way or another about himself. He is taking us into his confidence. And, like Lamb, he can do this without leaving a trace of egotism. Or at times he turns the quizzical philosopher on things of everyday life. When he discusses the apparently trite question, "Why Distant Objects Please," we see nothing of the pedant, the dry-as-dust philosopher; it is philosophy popularized, brought to our armchairs. But if anyone thinks it easy to write this kind of philosophical essay, let him point us excellent examples outside of Hazlitt's work; a precious time he will have in the search, for the qualities necessary thus to extract only the interesting are not common. We do not desire threadbare commonplaces or trite

[1] A History of Nineteenth Century Literature, p. 187.

comparisons; in a word, we do not wish a philosopher, in an effort to be popular, to talk like poor Poll. But all such pitfalls Hazlitt as if by instinct avoided. In all of his philosophical papers he succeeds in holding us under the spell of his unique methods. These essays are full of rich passages of emotion, of unexpected excursions of thought, of swift sallies, of daring assertions which pique the curiosity and arouse antagonism only to disarm it. Hazlitt was master of these arts of holding the attention. He was a master also of narrative method in the essay. And I suspect that he could have given us an absorbing novel. It would doubtless have been largely made up of autobiographical material, and would never have arrived anywhere; but for my part I should not have cared whether it did. There would have been delights innumerable on the way. All this, of course, is mere fancy; but it serves to illustrate his peculiar gifts. There is almost an atmosphere of Aready in several of his best personal essays; and in the final analysis they are all personal. This atmosphere seems to be gained somewhat by a tone of romantic regret, the painting, now joyous, now tender, of the days gone by. Hazlitt is always looking backward, is, in fact, a dweller in the past. The impetus which he gave to the Romantic Movement in the early nineteenth century was not inconsiderable. He commends himself particularly to those readers whose days are already in the sere and yellow leaf. He ought to be delightful perusal for old maids; indeed, for the advanced singulars of either sex. One gets a genuine feeling of comfort from many of his essays. Things "long to quiet vowed" start up in our recollections as he proceeds in his endless reminiscences—endless, however, to modify one of his own phrases, only in the sense that as they go on forever you wish them to go on forever. Such are those in the "Farewell to Essay Writing,"[1] which opens with that passage of mournful content:

> Food, warmth, sleep, and a book; these are all I at present ask—the *ultima Thule* of my wandering desires. Do you not then wish for
>
> A friend in your retreat,
> Whom you may whisper, solitude is sweet?

[1] In Winterslow.

Expected, well enough—gone, still better. Such attractions are strengthened by distance. Nor a mistress? "Beautiful mask! I know thee!" When I can judge of the heart from the face, of the thoughts from the lips, I may again trust myself. Instead of these give me the robin redbreast, picking the crumbs at the door, or warbling on the leafless spray, the same glancing form that has followed me wherever I have been, and "done its spiriting gently"; or the rich notes of the thrush that startle the ear of winter, and seem to have drunk up the full draught of joy from the very sense of contrast. To these I adhere, and am faithful, for they are true to me.

There is perhaps a certain tone of petulance in this and other essays; a petulance which seems more frequent in the productions of his latest years. His impatience at the world and at himself would sometimes out with almost startling plainness. But more often the mood was one of half-content. And there are many essays that herd under neither definition. Indeed, if there is one thing to be emphasized concerning Hazlitt's miscellaneous papers, it is their astonishing variety both of theme and treatment. At one remove stands that thoroughly enjoyable description—full of gusto—of "The Fight," a masterpiece of vividness and color. It would go far toward reconciling the veriest man of peace to prize-fighting if he possessed literary taste. Tennyson thought it good enough to pilfer from it the phrase, "red ruin," which Hazlitt had applied to the condition of the face of one of the combatants after an especially sturdy blow. At one remove, I say, stands this description; at the other, perhaps, "The Look of a Gentleman." And for satirical power we must go to our greatest satirist, Swift, to find anything better than the "Letter to William Gifford, Esq.," that slashing editor of the Quarterly Review. One fancies that even the crocodile plates of Gifford's brain must have been pierced by it. The language, moreover, is not wantonly abusive but simply adequate to the subject. And this adequacy of expression is just as characteristic of any other article of Hazlitt's. Whether he is writing an essay critical, philosophical, or personal, his style is always clear-cut and brilliant. Its structure is simple and straightforward. His long, rolling periods, which appear in some of his best essays, are never involved; they gather themselves up like a billow, and break at the close into a long cadence which echoes down the entire page. Such is that sublime description of

the joys of life in "The Feeling of Immortality in Youth."[1] Moreover, he frequently shows that nice sense of phrase which is one of the surest marks of a good style. "The idea of what the public will think prevents the public from ever thinking at all." How well that is said! Here was a writer who could mold language to his will. Such powers often imply, as in the case of Carlyle, that their possessor will allow himself, in diction and usage, a liberty, perhaps a license of treatment. On the contrary, no man took fewer liberties than Hazlitt. He did no violence to our English tongue. He was no highwayman of literary art, forcing words and phrases to his bidding. His is a manner well suited to the most frequent demands; it satisfies both the artist and the utilitarian. It is flexible without weakness, formal without stiffness. It is Hazlitt, true to himself, and his splendid powers. If he was sometimes ridiculous as a man, he was always master of the situation as a writer. His self-possession is as complete in the latter character as it was indiscernible in the former. There is no shuffle in his literary gait.

Such a writer has the golden gift of turning everything that he touches into literature. And in his best passages he often shows a poetic power—for Hazlitt's temperament was clearly and richly poetic—which recalls the "glad prose" of Jeremy Taylor. Imagination glows through them with a wealth and softness which give us a new indication of their author's genius; and one seldom detects, as one detects so often in De Quincey, overabundant alliteration, inflated diction, or grandiose sentiment. Hazlitt's influence, as might be suspected, upon the prose of the nineteenth century was easily noticeable. Stevenson, himself one of the best stylists of its later half, said, "We are mighty fine fellows, but we cannot write like William Hazlitt." And there are others who might well have acknowledged thus generously their indebtedness. Ruskin is almost certainly to be reckoned among these. Hazlitt's essay "On a Landscape of Nicholas Poussin" is a pioneer in the field. And the following touch is unmistakably in the manner of Ruskin: "Let the naturalist, if he will, catch the glow-worm, carry it home with him in a box, and find it next morning nothing

[1] In Winterslow.

but a little gray worm; let the poet or the lover of poetry visit it at evening, when beneath the scented hawthorn and the crescent moon it has built itself a palace of emerald light." Truly, the seed of Hazlitt's work was fruitful. Both Macaulay and Arnold drew some suggestions from it. Whether Carlyle did is doubtful; if he had, he would probably never have admitted it. But what a character he would have presented for Hazlitt's critical pen! It is to be regretted that we could not have had a twenty-page picture of this Oracle of Chelsea in The Spirit of the Age, a sprightly volume in which Hazlitt drew faithful portraits of some of his prominent contemporaries. It would have been as good, I suspect, as Carlyle's own Reminiscences. And perhaps Hazlitt would have repaid that indecent abuse of Lamb which is one of the disfigurements of the Reminiscences.

One likes best, however, to think of Hazlitt, not in the recrimination of partisan bitterness but in the lonely peace and genial surroundings of Winterslow. When he once forgot the world—and, one may add, the flesh and the devil—he was, to repeat the already quoted tribute of Lamb, "one of the wisest and finest spirits breathing." He tossed off exquisite papers with an ease which may well have awakened the admiration of his successors. He did

> What many dream of all their lives.
> Dream? strive to do, and agonize to do,
> And fail in doing.

When he breathed the serene air of literary creation he was himself. He never committed a *gaucherie* here. He wrote no labored sentences, no heavy or pompous platitudes. When we turn the last pages of his volumes we forget the blunders of his well-nigh ludicrous life; we remember only the swift flashes of insight, the catholicity which quite overshadows the prejudice, and, above all, the naturalness, the consummate ease, of his writings. Now that Tory rancor and all other hostility is inefficient against his memory, Hazlitt will take the place which he has so long deserved. Though he gave us no body of new doctrine, yet he talked upon subjects so intimate to the average man, in a manner so picturesque and personal, that he fills a niche of his own in our literature. And his

criticism, invaluable in his own period, has endured remarkably the searching test of time; despite the long roll of later critics, Hazlitt is still quoted, and some of his work in this field will probably never be supplanted. In one of his later essays he says, "I should like to leave some sterling work behind me." He has left it. Disappointment and persecution obscure his real self; but abundance appears, none the less, to assure us that here was a seeker of the "fugitive and gracious light" of truth, which does not come

> With houses or with gold,
> With place, with honor, and a flattering crew.

His splendid talents might have won him wealth and comfort in the service of his political opponents; he rejected the thought. Indifference to injustice would have secured him a more peaceful life; such indifference was impossible. His seemingly contradictory qualities estranged from him all save a few whose insight could understand him, or whose sympathy was willing to accept him. Lamb could do both; and it is with Lamb that I like to think of him, whether in life or in letters.

Harry T. Baker

Art. IV.—DENOMINATIONAL CONTROL OF COLLEGES

There are new movements in education which render a far-sighted policy, for denominational institutions, of the greatest importance. Princely gifts from individuals, and the creation of great boards which assume more or less of educational or of administrative direction, while they have not entirely created, have rapidly, and perhaps unduly, intensified a situation regarding denominational colleges which, sooner or later, was sure to involve the entire question of college administration. The genius of Protestantism works toward the survival of institutions on the pure basis of their right to exist as witnessed in the judgment of enlightened men. It will brook no mediæval compulsions, no survivals through appeal to passion and prejudice, but it depends upon the appeal of God's truth to man's spirit and man's instincts. An institution must prove its worth by the contribution it makes to the transformation of men into the image of God and by the ability of that institution to keep pace with advancing conceptions of justice, of morality, of social service, and of religion, as finally shown to be true and tenable by all righteous tests. Any man of prophetic spirit who understands the spirit of Protestantism will see that eventually there must have come a lively discussion of the question of technical denominational control in institutions which lay special stress on the development of religious life and character, and which seek to train a generation in their religious ideals and in devotion to the service of a particular denomination. This is a many-sided question. The last word of the discussion is a long way from having been spoken. Sooner or later all artificial restrictions will be removed. The strong, broad-minded, truly spiritual man, who demonstrates his power to lead by the strength of his ideas, the nobility of his Christian character, and a loyalty evidenced in the sacrifice which makes him serve and give, will be the dominant personality. That was so in the early history of our institutions: it ought always to be so. If Christian ideas are what we hold them to be, there is no question about the ultimate outcome. Rightly

understood, they can and will win in intelligent America, for they are the permanent ideas on which civilization must rest. The failure to recognize denominational institutions in certain quarters seems to have forced the issue rather prematurely, and it is tending to prevent that true spiritual development in which certain phases of formal ecclesiastical control would have passed away because it became the sober judgment of the denominations themselves that it had survived its usefulness. The fading out of denominational lines to make way for the world movement of a united Protestant Christianity must certainly have given us very soon a non-denominational yet vitally Christian control of those educational institutions which are really the "Port Arthurs of Christianity," and we can only regard it as regrettable that the question has reached the acute stage a little too early. The issue is none the less upon us, and the necessity for a settlement of it gives denominational educational work some aspects of crisis.

Denominational systems differ. In some the results of change in the governmental system of their colleges are much more serious than in others. All the important Congregational colleges, by reason of their general denominational system, had charters which made it easy for them to meet the conditions demanded by one of the most conspicuous of the great educational foundations. The genius of the Methodist system was different. The Methodists are persuaded that, while their system may seem autocratic and monarchial to outsiders, in reality it is one of the most democratic, just as the limited monarchy of Great Britain gives that empire a quite genuine form of democratic government. If England is having trouble with its House of Lords, we in America must speak softly in view of the radically different sentiment often manifested in the House of Representatives and in the Senate of our own Congress. The introduction of laymen into the governing body of Methodism, the vote permitting women to sit in that body, recent changes in certain phases of the district superintendency, all indicate that, while Methodism is conservative, the body is progressive, has not lost its power to read the signs of the times or to adapt itself to changing conditions in a conservatively progressive spirit. It is duly responsive to public

sentiment. Many of the strongest leaders, however, look with suspicion upon movements for the modification of charters which have even the appearance of being forced by financial considerations. Moved by the high motive of loyalty to truth, they strenuously oppose, on ethical grounds, what under different circumstances they might have received with favor. It is not surprising that the Methodist denomination, which raised ten million dollars for its colleges in two or three years during the Twentieth Century Movement, whose Sunday schools have created an educational fund of over a million dollars, whose colleges have an honorable educational history, and now have about sixty thousand students on their rolls, a denomination which has trained in its colleges some of the most noted men in our national history, should hesitate before wrenching from their proper place in a denominational system institutions which have been so vitally related to the success and progress of the church, and which, more than any other single factor, have been the source of Methodism's universally recognized contribution to our general national life and to our present world-wide national influence. The Methodists, therefore, view with uneasiness, and, in some instances, with irritation, a situation in which an institution like Oberlin is admitted to certain benefits, while institutions like their own Northwestern or Wesleyan are left off. These latter colleges are quite the educational equals of Oberlin, while the Congregational institution has a religious history as pronounced as either of the others, and points with pride to the fact that it has given over one thousand home and foreign missionaries to the church. This, indeed, indicates that a college can be true to Christian principles under a denominational tie and with a form of control quite different from that in vogue for more than a century among the Methodists. But it is not remarkable that strong leaders in that denomination should resist a demand which seems to them, in essence, to require an immediate change to a congregational or independent basis of administration. They are hardly ready to admit that the general interests of education cannot be served unless institutions with such a notable and honorable scholastic history at one twist wrench themselves from their historical relations and go on an entirely

new basis. That such is not quite intended is certain from the statement, oft repeated, that it is proper to have such colleges continue under "the friendly auspices of the denominations which founded them." Inasmuch as the demand strikes the Methodists more severely, perhaps, than it could any other of the Protestant denominations, it is worthy of note that the leaders of that communion have, as a rule, spoken with great calmness and moderation, and are meeting the whole matter in a judicial temper. Drake University, the leading institution of the Christian denomination, has made the necessary changes and is on the "accepted list." Bowdoin last year returned the endowment of the Stone Professorship with interest, the total amount being $56,118.16, that a gift conditioned on the loyalty of the college to the teaching of the orthodox Congregational or Presbyterian Church might not prevent her enlistment, and Bowdoin is now on the "accepted list." Brown University is said to have taken steps looking toward the modification of its charter. The Presbyterians and the Methodist Church, South, are in more or less confusion. Several of their institutions are disposed to meet the requirement imposed by the Foundation, while others severely criticise this disposition; but on the whole, particularly beyond Methodist circles, the pronounced tendency is to change charters when necessary, to return, if need be, conditional gifts, and to secure, if possible, the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation.

In the Methodist Church a large percentage of the natural constituency is urging a "stand pat" policy, but that constituency is not accepting, as it should, the responsibility for the support of the colleges. Numerous illustrations can be given where, in the raising of funds amounting to one quarter to one half a million dollars, in recent months, the larger percentage of the money has been from non-Methodists. In some instances, from fifty to seventy-five per cent of the funds secured has been from outside sources. Incidentally, this is a striking evidence of the confidence of the public in these colleges. Ohio Wesleyan University seems to be the institution most conspicuously supported by its Methodist constituency. Those who seek the control of a college ought to stand ready to accept, if need be, full responsibility for

its sustenance. In this condition it is no wonder that some boards of trustees are seriously considering such action as will secure for them the largest financial benefits, whatever the cost in the severance of denominational connections. Already college presidents are experiencing difficulty in inducing desirable and competent men to enter college faculties with a double handicap of small salaries for the present and the deprivation of such privileges as those afforded by retiring allowances at the end. There is danger of an acrimonious contest which may result in some of the larger and stronger colleges becoming almost completely alienated from the church, while a large number of the weaker ones separate themselves from public sympathy, put themselves beyond the hope of aid from some of the large foundations, and leave themselves to financial suicide. There are most serious questions centering around subjection to conditions which seem to be insisted upon by some of these boards. In the first place, Is a purely self-perpetuating body of trustees in any case the desirable form of control? Is there not grave danger of putting great and largely endowed institutions in the hands of men who can dictate their own successors and who may, if thus disposed, bring it to pass in the course of half a generation that an institution should become subversive of everything for which it was founded? It would not be impossible now to find institutions where, in the course of a long administration by a forceful president, the governing board has become, in no small degree, his creature. If authority to control must more and more carry with it the moral obligation of adequate support, the reverse will be true, namely, supporters will control. This indicates the necessity for a large contributing constituency, if colleges are not eventually to become the creatures of those who have great wealth to bestow. State institutions, through the popular election of regents, are responsive to popular will. Ought we to consent to the creation of a series of institutions which may become purely autocratic, or which may, in time, become so indifferent to the real demands of the time that they shall become as deserted as has Andover in recent years? If State institutions incur the danger of the leadership of the demagogue, these private institutions thus governed might be in peril of the rule of the

autocrat. It would seem that this question has not received proper consideration. There are others involved in the conditions or possible conditions of these foundations. How far must institutions submit to their dictation? What degree of institutional liberty will finally be granted? Is there danger of relinquishing ecclesiastical control for a more serious external control—a possible change of masters without diminution of discomfort to the servant? I understand the Carnegie Foundation has made some notable changes at the recent meeting. What will be the final content of their demands? It is not a misfortune that the large foundations have spoken on this subject. Senator Root well said recently: "The essential process of free government is free discussion. Discussion confined to people of the same way of thinking, with the same interests, the same purposes and prejudices, tends only to strengthen their common difference from all others and to increase the divergence between different groups of our people; but discussion, information, sincere and earnest attempts to get at each other's minds and to *learn* as well as to teach, among people of different points of view—this leads to that common public opinion whose expression in the end comes nearest to being the voice of God that man has ever attained." We can only profit by such full and free discussion. It is of equal importance to all the denominations. The future of Protestant Christianity in America and the problem of the retention of a definitely Christian element in education is, perhaps, more seriously involved than many good men realize. It is well, therefore, to call attention to the fact that the present method of ecclesiastical control, differing widely in different denominations, largely through Conference election or approval of trustees in Methodist institutions, gives no adequate or modern supervision. In many cases it is an embarrassment without compensating advantages. It is defective for its intended purpose. It does not even assure a safe and businesslike management. The business methods of some of the institutions ought to be a source of poignant grief to us, if not of shame; but some whose methods and standards are most open to criticism have self-perpetuating boards of trustees. Though under the auspices of the church, they are under no Conference control and

have no denominational tests for members of the governing board. Among the trustees of colleges of this type are able men, but they are directors who do not direct. Such cases convince one that ecclesiastical control is, to say the least, not the only defect, and that we need to look more deeply into the subject before we decide on the final and effective system.

Not infrequently men without that adequate educational discipline or that openness to new truth which enables them to judge wisely attack the noblest teachers in a sensational way, to the great injury of the institution. Whoever officially looks into the educational or business management of Methodist colleges must see the possible or actual defects of present methods of control. I speak now of Methodist colleges because it would be ungracious in me to make such statements concerning others, but Methodists are probably not the only sufferers. It ought to be impossible for a college president to plunge an institution seriously into debt without the knowledge of the trustees. There ought to be some responsible and competent body who would select professors with such foresight and care as to guard us against immature or erratic men in professorial chairs, and against that all too large class who, in the name of intellectual freedom, pose as original thinkers and teach conclusions which are not infrequently long-discarded theories utterly subversive of the truth. On the other hand, there should be adequate protection for the tried, sane, safe investigator who can discover new facts, who has the courage to state and defend new truth, and who distinguishes between proved truth and tentative hypothesis. Such a man alone can beget within his pupils the true Protestant spirit of open-mindedness to new truth while he anchors them to unshaken fundamentals. Our present methods of control in many cases assure neither proper liberty to a faculty nor proper protection to the public who intrust their children to these colleges. Take this pathetic picture. Half a dozen boys and girls, as bright and as capable as any the nation affords, are awakened by some pastor or by some effective college agent to the necessity of a better preparation for life. They are turned toward a so-called college. In those unsuspecting years they have little or no conception of what

really constitutes either a college or an education. They wend their way to "Meadow Hill College"; they spend eight years, the only eight they will ever have for this purpose. They develop the youthful sense of loyalty "to the institution"; they learn its yells, join in its contests, and are genuine in their enthusiasm. They have seen nothing better. In due time they receive diplomas. The degrees for which those diplomas stand are conferred amid the plaudits of acclaiming friends and often before a larger concourse than gathers at some of the notable institutions of the country. These young people are made to believe that they are adequately prepared for the world's work in the twentieth century when, in large measure, they have neither the method, the content, nor the spirit of such a training. It is all very well to say that they have received other things which constitute "an equivalent," but the choice should not be between mental discipline, breadth of culture, and these "other things." The Christian college, if true to its mission, stands for the completest education. Its first principle is, or should be, moral honesty and intellectual integrity. With due attention to the matters herein set forth, and with the assertion of bona-fide moral and religious standards, which apply not only to devotional habits but to college equipment, to the content of the college course, and to the actual classification of our institutions for what they really are, the Christian college would be the strongest and most permanent educational influence in the land. The purpose of administration is to secure the ends for which the institution stands. Without reference to the Carnegie Foundation, or any other, we need a discussion and a reformation of our methods in these particulars. If some system of efficient direction through trustee election by the alumni, or through a more efficient and democratic method of election by the denomination, can be devised, or if we can leave the corporation to self-perpetuation after drafting some democratic and educational safeguards, the day is at hand for the scheme. We are all agreed that we do not wish to be narrowly sectarian. On the other hand, are we to concede that a denomination which, by great labor, by a tender solicitude worthy of a mother, by generous and often sacrificial gifts, has created and fostered an institution, must hand it over

to a new system of control, content only to have relations of friendly sympathy with it? Are we persuaded that educational efficiency for the future demands this? or can those denominations which have shown themselves educational leaders in the earlier history of our nation devise a modified system of control suited to our age which will conserve that for which they established these colleges, while securing all that is just in the demands of these educational reformers? Unfortunately, "denominational" and "sectarian" are terms almost hopelessly confounded in the public mind. It is possible to devise a scheme which will eliminate both terms while assuring vital Christian control and adequate support. We want no mercenary or servile spirit, but it is a time for all denominations to coöperate. What is good for one is likely to be good for all. The Laymen's Missionary Movement is showing how denominations can coöperate. Why not a united Christian movement for efficient and modern control of Christian colleges—a method of control which will leave faculties unhampered in modern statements of truth and in free investigation, while at the same time insuring us against the subversion of fundamental Christian principles, which will be a guarantee for sound and progressive educational policies and standards, and which will appeal, as the present system does not appeal, to men of means, men of sterling business methods, and men of broad Christian ideals. These Christian institutions, moreover, are the expression of the conviction of a very large percentage of our American citizenship that education is not and cannot be complete without the religious element. Any movement which tends toward purely secular education, or which promises, designedly or undesignedly, however gradually, to eliminate the distinctively Christian factor in education, must and will be resisted at any cost. Weighing everything the great foundations have said, estimating our own difficulties, let us accept their conditions, if we can, after devising a way to safeguard that for which we exist. If we cannot, let us go to our own people with a well-thought-out scheme and say to them, "If you believe in this, and want it perpetuated, you must finance it." Would that we might move with such expedition as to have each wait until all could move together. Meantime, if

any given institution feels that its pressing interests demand immediate modification of charter, our spirit should be so irenic as to prevent alienation and to insure coöperation later. Will not well-to-do men of the churches take this matter as seriously as it deserves? This is a time when the best Christian brain of the country should give consideration to the subject and back up its conviction with its gifts. No more important question can engage the attention of Christian men in this generation.

The College Presidents' Association of the Methodist Episcopal Church has a committee, consisting of Dr. John F. Goucher, President Abram W. Harris, President Herbert Welch, and the corresponding secretary of the Board of Education, giving careful attention to the problem, and it was the subject of earnest consideration at the last annual meeting of the Board of Education. Thoughtful and well-considered opinion of any sort bearing on a subject of such moment will be welcomed by the committee.

Thomas Nicholson,

Art. V.—THE CASE OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The "Methodist Federation Farce" is the descriptive title given by the Pacific Christian Advocate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the present laudable effort of the two Methodist Episcopal Churches to adjust their differences and heal the wounds of fifty years. The occasion for this denunciation of federation is that a Southern Methodist church near Los Angeles, California, of some three hundred members, went over in a body to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is needless to say they were not induced to come, nor was their determination seriously considered until they had affirmed that if they were not received they would form themselves into an independent Methodist Church. Possibly, if the Pacific Advocate had known of federation in Missouri, through the application of which several Methodist Episcopal churches had gone over to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and one here and there of that church had transferred to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and all this on the approval of Southern Methodist bishops, he would have practiced a little more rigid economy of invective and a larger expenditure of judicial fairness. Certainly, that which is indorsed by bishops and ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in Missouri, where members of the Methodist Episcopal Church change to the Church South cannot be complained of when members of that church in California come over in a body to the Methodist Episcopal Church. If the principles of federation apply at all, they apply equally to both churches.

The editor of the Nashville Christian Advocate has also pronounced federation, as we understand it, a farce, and "will have none of it," for the reason, it seems, that federation does not signify annihilation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the white Conferences of the South. Criticising some utterance of Dr. James M. Buckley in a Missionary Committee, he says:

> Dr. Buckley intimates that the acceptance by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of the provisions of the recent Plan of Federation is an

admission by that church of the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be in the South. If he really thinks so—which we doubt—he is much mistaken. That plan was devised to allay friction along the border between the two churches, and in the West where there is no dividing line. The territory recognized in 1844 as that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is still ours.

Now, the question naturally arises, Why this attack on federation and this harking back on all occasions to 1844? Since that epochal date the world has wandered far, and to thousands of Methodists in both churches the events of those days are almost as legendary as the fair deeds of King Arthur's knights, and not nearly so interesting as tales of "moving accidents by flood and field" told in Desdemona's ear.

In the interests of peace and good will such attacks have been ignored as editorial expressions of individual opinion, and as in no sense the judgment of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, or of its Commissions on Federation, for a more surprising misapprehension of fact could not well be conceived than this interpretation of the purpose of federation by the Nashville Christian Advocate. It may be not improper to state that for twelve years the writer was secretary of the Commission on Federation appointed by the Methodist Episcopal Church and also at the same time one of the secretaries of the Joint Commission of the two churches. Due regard to possible future complications and misunderstandings which may arise from this interpretation compels the affirmation that the statement of the Nashville Advocate is not in harmony with the facts. Had such been the understanding, it is quite likely that the Joint Commission would not have convened again after its first meeting. If the commissioners of the Church South had any such views, they never expressed them. Border lines only had nothing to do with our purposes or discussions or conclusions, for the very simple and sufficient reason that they do not exist. No such limitation, with its corollaries, of federation was ever expressed by either church. It does not appear in the resolutions of either General Conference providing for the commission. It does not appear in any report emanating from that commission. It is, as Max Nordau says of Nietzsche's originality, simply "an inversion of a rational train of thought." The resolution of the

General Conference of the Church South providing for the Commission refutes it. That resolution reads:

> *Resolved*, That this commission shall have power to enter into negotiations with said commission from the Methodist Episcopal Church, if one shall be appointed, and with similar commissions from other Methodist bodies, with a view to abating hurtful competition and waste of men and money in home and foreign fields.

There is no reference to "border" here respecting the church, as there is not for "other Methodist bodies." The scope is general. It embraces home and foreign fields. The Methodist Episcopal Church is everywhere in the South—from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, from the Ohio River to Tampa Bay—and has been for well-nigh forty years. The acts of the Joint Commission also refute such an interpretation, if further refutation were needed. The fundamental agreement of that commission, and adopted by both churches, reads:

> *Resolved*, That we recommend to the respective General Conferences to enact provisions to the effect that where either church is doing the work expected of Methodism, the other church shall not organize a society or erect a church building until the bishops of the two churches in charge of that field have been consulted.

But such erroneous views, and the groundless accusations which the church has become accustomed to and has patiently borne for decades, might even yet be ignored were it not that unchallenged perversions of history long continued become in time accepted fact. There is also another reason. For many years ceaseless complaint has been made against the Methodist Episcopal Church for maintaining her work in the South, and this, with her respectful but firm refusal to accept the interpretation of the Church South of the events of 1844, seems now to have become the agreed-upon method by which partisan editors hope to achieve their ends, the reversal of history, grant of further concessions on the ground of concessions already obtained, and the withdrawal of the Methodist Episcopal Church from the white Conferences in the South. The Methodist Episcopal Church in the South, however, in no wise detracts from either the usefulness or the dignity of the Church South, which we honor for its Christian heroism and fidelity to the gospel, nor would our withdrawal to-morrow enrich it or

strengthen it, or remove by an inch the obstacles to organic union.

Now, in turning aside for a moment from more congenial themes—since the issue is forced upon us—to interpret the facts of history and describe the situation as it exists, we may inquire what are the basal facts beneath all this contention? Representative journalists of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, demand that the Methodist Episcopal Church shall withdraw her jurisdiction from the South, leaving, if she desires, only the colored Conferences. That is, the church must surrender 200,000 native-born members, thousands of Sunday schools, nearly $9,000,000 in schools and church property, or dispose of it in some way—which would involve endless litigation, stultify her entire history, the solemn affirmations of her bishops and officials and pastors, and all her Annual and General Conference acts and declarations for the space of more than sixty years. All this must be done, it is affirmed, before genuine and lasting fraternity can be assured, because it is insisted:

I. That the General Conference of 1844 divided the church. That in thus dividing the church it was agreed that all the territory occupied by the Southern Conferences, and the membership and property of the same, were to be under the sole jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as was afterward decided by the Supreme Court of the United States.

II. That the Methodist Episcopal Church has violated this agreement of the Plan of Separation to this day through her bishops and pastors and General Conference action, by invading the South and establishing churches and Annual Conferences therein.

III. That the Methodist Episcopal Church, in contempt of the Supreme Court of the United States, still claims to be the original Methodist Episcopal Church, thereby denying the division and making the Church South a secession from that body, by continuous dating of her General Conference and other official documents from the founding of the church in 1784 instead of from 1845; and that notwithstanding repeated protestations of fraternity and appointment of Commissions on Federation she has not yet withdrawn from the territory of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Such are the issues and such are the demands kept alive and insisted upon by representatives of the Church South. It is needless to say, perhaps, that such ancient controversies are not

issues at all at the present day with the Methodist Episcopal Church, they having been long since determined and settled finally by her in various General Conference and other official action. Nevertheless, it appeals to the highest reason, that if the Methodist Episcopal Church has done wrong, she should submit to the dictates of reason. We are not responsible for the wrongs of the past, but for perpetuating those wrongs, thus making them our own. But if the church has not done wrong, nor is doing wrong now, any attempt under any guise or plea to reverse the facts of history and surrender to such demands is for the church to institute a new and more tremendous wrong, a wrong outwronging all other wrongs, for then she would be not only breaking faith with 200,000 of her people but would be also confessing to evil doings which she did not commit and cannot condone. The Methodist Episcopal Church cannot thus write her own condemnation, and thereby invite that penalty which sooner or later comes to all who betray the truth, whether that truth be religious, scientific, or historical. The General Conference of 1844 faced grave questions. Slavery in the episcopacy was the issue. On that issue the Conference divided into two antagonistic, irreconcilable forces. It was an irrepressible conflict. The ages had been leading up to it. Neither side could yield. They may have made mistakes. But the *dramatis personæ* in that combination of events were Christian men, and they did the best they could with the light or the half-lights before them. Back of them were the monumenta of many yesterdays—Eli Whitney's cotton gin, which in a truer sense than Victor Hugo said of Waterloo, was a change of front of the universe; the consequent tidal rise in values in lands and slaves, the readjustment of conscience, the struggle for power, and—the Missouri Compromise. But great as may have been their blunders, it is a yet greater blunder to force upon us at this day an acceptance of those blunders; to attempt to force us to recognize that as a virtue which the fathers condemned, to pay a note the fathers never signed.

I. Now, that the General Conference, by formal act, did, as far as it was able, divide *the funds* of the church is an indisputable fact; that it had the constitutional authority to do, and it was

right that it should do so. But that the General Conference of 1844 *divided the church* is not an indisputable fact. It is one thing for the prodigal son to come to his father and say, "Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me," and then leave his father's house on his own responsibility, and quite another and different thing for the father to enter into a compact with him to withdraw from the parental home. The division of the family was the act of the son, not of the father, though the father provided for the son, should he assume that responsibility. The division of the family was the act of one, the division of the property the act of both. The father had no right to expel the son from his home; he did possess the right to provide for him if he went. This is what the General Conference of 1844 did. That it divided the church is, as it appears to us from historical data, just what it did not do. It did not assemble for that purpose. It had neither delegated nor inherent power to divide it. It was forbidden by the Constitution to divide it, for to circumscribe the church, and thus limit the jurisdiction of its ministry and itinerant general episcopacy, was to destroy that episcopacy, which the Constitution declared "they shall not do away nor destroy." The General Conference itself acknowledged it had no power to divide the church. Dr. Capers had introduced a resolution to divide the church into North and South under two General Conferences, but the General Conference when thus brought face to face with division took no steps to encourage the committee and the resolution came to nought. When the Committee of Nine reported on the resolution signed by the fifty-two delegates from the thirteen Conferences in the slave-holding States that they could not remain under the jurisdiction of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and presented for adoption by the General Conference the so-called "Plan of Separation," Dr. Bangs, one of the committee, declared in open Conference that the report did not speak of division—the word had been carefully avoided through the whole document; it only said, "in the event of a separation taking place," throwing the responsibility from off the shoulders of the General Conference and upon those who should say that such a separation was necessary. Mr. Griffith declared no one had the right to divide

the church. Mr. Fillmore said: "These resolutions do not say that the South must go, shall go, will go, or that anybody wants them to go; it only makes provision for such a contingency." Dr. Lucky considered that the resolutions were provisional and preliminary, settling nothing at present. "Mr. Finley could see in the report no proposition to divide the church." "Mr. Hamline said that the committee had carefully avoided presenting any resolution which would embrace the idea of a separation or division." Dr. Winans, of the South, said, "The only proposition was that they might have liberty, if necessary, to organize a separate Conference." Dr. Smith, of the South, said, "This General Conference, I am aware, has no authority directly to effect this separation." Dr. Paine declared that he did not know for certain that the separation would take place. He ardently hoped that it would not. "The separation would not be affected by the passage of these resolutions through the General Conference. They must pass the Annual Conferences." (Debates in General Conference Journal, 1844, p. 221.)

Thus Southern delegates themselves, in General Conference and *after*, acknowledged that the Conference had no power to divide the church. It was not until some time much later, when the smoke had cleared away and the legal consequences involved had become apparent, that the doctrines of the authority of the General Conference to divide the church became the doctrine of the South. The evidence on this is that on July 12, 1844, one month or so after the adjournment of the Conference, Dr. Paine, one of the foremost leaders of the South, wrote:

> *Is the Methodist Episcopal Church divided?* No. The General Conference had no power to divide it. Ours was a delegated power, to be exercised under constitutional limitation, and for specific purpose—as individual delegates we organized and acted on this principle.

On August 23, 1844, Dr. J. B. McFerrin, another of the great leaders of the South, in that Conference, and whom the writer had the honor to meet in his last days, wrote:

> To be sure we did not divide the church; to do this we had no authority, but we adopted measures to lay the matter before our people.

In a letter dated December 27, 1844, he again writes: "The General Conference, however, did not divide the church. It only made

provision for an amicable separation in case the Southern Conferences found it necessary to form distinct organizations." In the Methodist Quarterly Review (South) for January, 1910, however, Dr. Gross Alexander, book editor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and editor of that Review, in a very temperate article on the General Conference of 1844 says that the Committee of Nine to whom was referred the "Declaration" of the Southern delegates above referred to "*was instructed*" by the Conference "to devise, if possible, a constitutional plan for a mutual and friendly division of the church, provided they cannot in their judgment devise a plan for an amicable adjustment of the difficulty now existing in the church on the subject of slavery." After three days of deliberation the committee presented their report which is known as the historic "Plan of Separation."

Conclusive arguments demolishing our contention are built upon this resolution, and it must be admitted that if its solidity is anything more than that of castles and fortresses one sees towering high in summer clouds, it is a conclusive argument for the Church South as far as it goes. But while this statement of Dr. Gross Alexander has the support of the official journal, it is both inaccurate and misleading. It makes the General Conference contradict itself; it makes Dr. Hamline, one of the Committee of Nine, contradict all that he had said and to antagonize his well-known position. It makes it appear that the committee reported according to *instructions* to devise a constitutional division of the church, whereas the committee makes no reference whatever in its report to this resolution offered by Dr. McFerrin to devise such a plan. It disclaims all intention to divide the church, but specifically mentions that its report is on the "declaration" of the Southern delegates.

> The select Committee of Nine to consider and report on the *declaration* of the delegates from the Conferences of the slave-holding States beg leave to present the following report:
>
> *Whereas*, A *declaration* has been presented to this General Conference, etc. (Journal, 1844, p. 217.)

The resolution by Dr. McFerrin, however, to devise, if possible, a constitutional plan for the division of the church, was presented.

But Dr. Hamline arose and said: "I will not go out with the committee under such instructions." Dr. Peck said: "Let the General Conference beware. This is a proposition to commit this Conference to a division of the church. We are sent here to conserve the church, not to divide it." The resolution was finally amended so as to provide for a constitutional division of the funds. By mistake, not accounted for, the resolution appeared in the Journal in its original, not its amended form. Dr. Hamline, in the absence of the secretary, called Dr. Bangs's attention to the error. Bangs was reluctant to interfere. Hamline pointed out the legal possibilities of the error, but, being a young member of the Conference, he refrained from further expostulation, and the error remained in the Journal to be employed later in the courts. (Biography Bishop Hamline, Ridgaway, p. 13-19. See also Bishop Peck's statement in Methodist Quarterly Review, 1870.)

Now, an intelligent study of the relation of the General Conference to the church will show that even if the General Conference had intentionally adopted a report dividing the church, that would not have made the act binding on the church. If the next General Conference voted to divide the church East and West, would that be binding on the church? If the next General Conference of the Church South should adopt a report to forget the past and unite with the Methodist Episcopal Church or dissolve, would that bind the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and would its ministry and laity admit the authority of their General Conference to adopt such a resolution? As Chief Justice Marshall declared, it is something "to know the difference between a government of law and a government of men." Dr. Paine, of the South, and other Southern leaders, as we have seen, acknowledged the General Conference was a delegated body acting under constitutional limitations to transcend which, they well knew, would be usurpation and revolution. They knew that they had neither legal nor moral right to usurp an authority beyond that which was given them. If the power to divide the church is not specifically mentioned and expressly denied in the "Restrictive Rules," it is because no government ever provides for its own destruction; and because it never entered the hearts of the framers of the Constitu-

tion that such an extraordinary usurping power would ever be assumed by a delegated body. Is it possible to assume that the Constitution says: "You shall not change a single Article of Religion, but you may destroy the whole gospel? You shall not alter a restrictive rule, but you may destroy the church"?

In the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1870, the Constitution of which at that time was the same as that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, unchanged since 1844, Dr. Leroy M. Lee, nephew of Jesse Lee of famous memory, delivered a most convincing speech on the powers of the General Conference. In that speech he declared, "The General Conference is a dependent and responsible body, dependent for its authority and being upon the original body of elders and responsible to them for its fidelity in the use of its powers delegated to it." In the absence of this accountability, "its responsibility ceases, and it can revoke, alter, change, or destroy even the Constitution itself at its own will and by its own act. Such power was not given to it, nor intended to be given," etc. This speech led the Church South to adopt a resolution providing for episcopal veto. But the church did not then perceive, or else it ignored, the Trojan horse in the accepted reasons underlying the resolution adopted—that, in admitting Dr. Lee's contention, which was the sole reason for episcopal veto, they completely reversed their position on the powers of the General Conference of 1844. For in adopting the principles underlying this act of 1870 the Church South acknowledged that the General Conference is a dependent and responsible body, that it does not possess all power; that all power is not delegated to it by the ministry. Upon this principle the Church South established the veto power of its episcopacy. But the disintegrating question is, If the General Conference of 1870 did not possess all this power, how could such power be possessed and lawfully exercised by the General Conference of 1844—the power, not simply to change, alter, or destroy a restrictive rule, but the far greater power to change, alter, or destroy the church? Furthermore, in the interests of justice it should be stated that the "Plan of Separation" was never completed, and could not, therefore, become legally effective in the church. Our Southern Methodist

friends should conscientiously ponder these historic facts. Before the vote was completed the Southern Conferences had left the church and organized a distinct ecclesiastical connection of their own, thus preventing completion of the vote, for many Conferences refused to vote, lest their act should be construed as an indorsement of separation. On the first of May, 1845, delegates from the thirteen Annual Conferences in the slave-holding States met in Louisville, Kentucky, in what is known as the Louisville Convention, and there by their own act, and not by any specific act of the General Conference, they assumed the responsibility of dividing the church, and did organize the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

In connection with this it is asserted by Southern Methodist writers, that, in accordance with a well-established principle of law, which is that every person *intends* the natural, and necessary, and even probable consequences of his act, the General Conference of 1844 was a party to the Louisville Convention, since that Convention was a consequence of the General Conference's act. Now, we shall not dispute a common-sense principle recognized by eminent jurists in England and America, but for obvious reasons we must deny its application to the case before us. Every act coming within the compass of law or morals must be a rational act. A lunatic is not responsible for his acts. It must be an intentional act. Accidents are not crimes. Hence, to say that the General Conference by a certain act intended to divide the church, is to assume the very thing in dispute, to beg the whole question, to assert the very thing we deny, and which we have clearly shown by the testimony of delegates of that Conference, both North and South, the General Conference did not do. This legal principle, therefore, does not apply to this case, and the General Conference which was not represented in the Louisville Convention cannot be held as a party to the acts of that Convention. The declaration, however, is triumphantly made that no matter what is said of the intentions and powers and acts of the General Conference, the Supreme Court of the United States has decided that the General Conference of 1844 had the power and did divide the Methodist Episcopal Church. This is supposed to be final. But we do not

think it is final. History is not subject to courts. Cæsar did live. Napoleon did cross the Alps. Even the brilliant effort of Froude in several volumes to reconstruct the character of Henry VIII, to make Queen Elizabeth a saint and her victim, Queen Mary, something else, cannot change the facts. What is done is done, and no power can make it other than it was. No Anglican sentiment, however worthy, can change Macaulay's portrait of Archbishop Laud. The Supreme Court, it is admitted, did declare as above. But the case in equity before that court, however, was on the division of the *funds* of the Book Concern and not on the division of the church. That decision of the court was readily accepted and the money paid to the Church South. But the *obiter dicta, propia dicta,* or *gratis dicta* of the court concerning the division of the church, its extrajudicial declarations, reasonings, and inferences concerning the powers of the General Conference have never been accepted by the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor does it appear they ever can be. She renders and must "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." But there is no union of church and state in this country. Outside a legal decision on a disputed case submitted to that exalted tribunal, its *obiter dicta* or *gratis dicta* have no legal force as an interpretation of the history and doctrines and constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church; otherwise the church would be a creature of the courts or of the State, deriving her existence from the power of the State rather than from the authority of God. Hence the Methodist Episcopal Church, while obeying the legal decision of the Supreme Court in the case in equity before it, has never accepted the doctrine that her existence began in 1844. On the basis of this decision it was declared in the General Conference of the Church South at Birmingham, Alabama, May, 1906, by the secretary of that body, who was afterward elected bishop at that Conference, that the Methodist Episcopal Church is in contempt of the Supreme Court because she does not redate her official Journals in harmony with the opinions of the Supreme Court. And many in the Church South hold this view. But the Methodist Episcopal Church knows her own identity as an individual knows his; she knows she is the

Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized in Baltimore in 1784, and not at Louisville in 1845. *No obiter dicta* of any court can change that. Her unbroken succession of bishops and pastors, of Annual and General Conferences, her records and Journals, title deeds, the monuments on the graves of her honored dead, the acknowledgment of the Church South itself at its organization in 1845 at Louisville, when the delegates present declared themselves to be at that moment members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, twelve months after its supposed division in 1844, the declaration of the "Plan of Separation" itself that ministers and members on the border "may remain" with the Methodist Episcopal Church, are facts from which there can be no appeal to the assumptions of that august body, to whose legal decisions as good Christians and law-abiding citizens we yield instant obedience, but to whose unhistorical statements we cannot yield assent. This was not the only separation from the church. Before this withdrawal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, there had been several others in the course of her history: the "O'Kelleyites," the "Reform Methodist," the "Methodist Protestant," the Church in Canada, the "Stilwellite Methodists," the "Wesleyan Methodists," but these separations in no wise affected her identity. She remained the same identical Methodist Episcopal Church as from the beginning. Nor in this refusal does it appear that the Methodist Episcopal Church is in contempt of the Supreme Court. That court has itself declared in *Carroll vs. Carroll's Lessee, 16 Howard, 287*,

> If the construction put by the Court of a State upon one of its statutes was not a matter in judgment, if it might be decided either way without affecting any right brought into the question, then, according to the principles of common law, an opinion in such a question is not a decision. To make it so there must have been an application of the judicial mind to the precise question necessary to be determined, to fix the right of the parties and decide to whom the property in contention belongs.

Now, the *"precise question"* before the court was not the power of the General Conference to divide the church, but a "bill filed to recover share of a fund called the Book Concern," etc. That this question "might be decided either way" without deciding on the power of the General Conference to divide the church is admitted by the court itself when it says that even if the General

Conference did not have the power to divide the church, "Even if this were admitted, we do not perceive that it would change the relative position and rights of the traveling preachers within the divisions, North and South, from that which we have just endeavored to explain." The church, therefore, does not know herself to be in contempt of the highest tribunal when she refuses to accept as history the unnecessary dictum of that tribunal in a case not before it for adjudication. It is no discourtesy to say that men in that Conference were as thoroughly competent to interpret the constitutional powers of the General Conference as any member of that Supreme Court, and the whole General Conference, the ablest Southern delegates included, as we have seen, had declared or admitted that the General Conference possessed no delegated or inherent power to divide the church. They never dreamed that the Conference possessed the inherent power to divide the church and erect two distinct ecclesiastical connections in the place of the old one, as the court assumed, any more than they did that because the Revolutionary Congress of 1776 had the power to adopt some other form of government than the form they did adopt, therefore every United States Congress has the inherent power to divide the United States government and erect two distinct governments in the place of the original government. They never dreamed that because the Christmas Conference of 1784, which organized the church, had the power to reject the plans and purposes of Wesley, and not to establish the church at all, therefore every General Conference had inherent right to destroy the church. Back of the General Conference of 1844 was the Constitution, and the preamble to that Constitution by virtue of which the Conference itself existed, declared:

> *Whereas*, It is of the greatest importance that the doctrine, form of government, and general rules of the United Societies in America be preserved sacred and inviolable; and,
>
> *Whereas*, Every prudent measure should be taken to preserve, strengthen, and perpetuate the union of the connection;

therefore, both bodies, General Conference and United States Congress, are delegated bodies, acting under a written Constitution, any violation of which renders their respective act null and void, and in no sense binding on the church or the nation.

II. But it is constantly affirmed as a standing grievance that the Methodist Episcopal Church violated the "Plan of Separation" by sending her ministers into the territory of the Church South assigned to it by the Plan and organizing churches and Conferences therein. No true fraternity, it is sharply insisted, can be hoped for until this wrong is righted. This, we regret to see, is the burden of that unfraternal editorial in the Nashville Christian Advocate, to which reference has been made, and is the ever-recurring note in the rippling music or plaintive wail of all addresses on federation. Punic faith is a grievous charge and should not be lightly made. What are the facts? The General Conference of 1844 adopted a Plan of Adjustment, called a Plan of Separation, for thirteen protesting Southern Conferences whose delegates declared they could not remain under the jurisdiction of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The line of division between these Conferences and the church was not a Mason's and Dixon's geographical line, as many have supposed, nor the lines of slave-holding States. Conference boundaries are not determined by State lines. The Conference fixed the line upon the northern boundary of these thirteen Conferences in the slave-holding States: Virginia, Holston, Kentucky, Missouri, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Texas, Tennessee, and Memphis. The border Conferences were Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri. This is clear and beyond doubt. The Plan is explicit. It reads:

> *Resolved*, 1. That should the delegates from the Conferences in the slave-holding States find it necessary to unite in a distinct ecclesiastical connection, the following rule shall be observed with regard to the northern boundary of such connection

—that is, of these thirteen Conferences as then constituted, and about to form themselves in a new church. What was the northern boundary of these thirteen Conferences then constituted? The boundary of the Virginia Conference was the Rappahannock on the north and the Blue Ridge Mountains on the west. In all the region north of that line and in the State of Virginia were portions of Northern Conferences, the Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Pittsburg Conferences. The Ohio River from the mouth of the Big

Sandy was the line separating the Kentucky Conference from the Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois Conferences. The Mississippi and the State line separated the Missouri Conference from the Iowa Conferences. Beyond these Conference lines neither church was permitted to go. Beyond that line the Methodist Episcopal Church did not go. She violated no rule of the Plan of Separation, and it remains to this day for those who persistently accuse her of this breach of faith to furnish the proof. But on the contrary, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, violated the Plan of Separation from the beginning. At its organization at Louisville it invited Conferences not represented in that Convention to send delegates to the General Conference at Petersburg. It interpreted the fixed line as a *movable* line. Just as soon as the societies on the line voted to join the Church South the boundary line was then placed north of those societies, until, if not resisted, there would be no line at all. On the basis of this interpretation the Church South invaded the Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Illinois Conferences. It organized churches in the city of Baltimore itself, crossed the river and obtained a footing in Cincinnati; established churches wherever it could, and then accused the Methodist Episcopal Church of violating the Plan of Separation because she would not accept this peculiar interpretation and refused to be expelled from the Southern States. But, after all, of what practical or concrete value now can this perpetual galvanizing of dead issues be to the kingdom of God; issues dead at least to the Methodist Episcopal Church, occupied as it is with world-wide problems and living questions of to-day? The Plan of Separation has been long since dead, repealed, abrogated, and repudiated by both churches.

In 1848 the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church formally repudiated the Plan of Separation. At that Conference the Committee on the State of the Church, after thorough consideration of the facts, reported that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had everywhere violated that Plan, giving times and places and methods employed. As a part of their report the committee incorporated a statement to the same effect signed by Bishops Hedding, Waugh, Morris, Hamline, and Janes, of what

they had personally known or had learned on reliable information in their administration of the Conferences. The General Conference then adopted the report:

> Having thus found upon clear and incontestable evidence that the three fundamental conditions of said proposed plan have severally failed, and the failure of either of these being sufficient to render it null and void, and having found the practical working of said plan incompatible with certain great constitutional principles elsewhere asserted, we have *found and declared the whole and every part of said provisional Plan to be null and void.* (Journal, 1848, p. 164.)

In 1866 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, repudiated the Plan. The General Conference of that Church in that year, held in New Orleans, made the following declaration:

> *Resolved,* That as the geographical line defining the territorial limits of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established by the General Conference of 1844, has been officially and practically repudiated and disregarded by the Methodist Episcopal Church, therefore we are bound neither legally nor morally by it; and that we feel ourselves at liberty to extend our ministrations and ecclesiastical jurisdiction to all beyond that line who may desire us so to do.

Having thus repudiated the Plan of Separation, the Conference resolved to go beyond any previous aggression by adopting another resolution by the same committee for the extension of their work in northern territory, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, namely:

> Your Committee have also had before them the resolutions of the delegates of the Kentucky, Louisville, and Saint Louis Conferences, asking authority to annex territory in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, to their respective Conferences, and recommend the following resolutions for adoption:
>
> *Resolved,* That such churches or societies as are now or may hereafter be organized in sections of the country not now under our ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and which wish to be united with us in church fellowship, may be connected with the Conference most convenient to them; and that the bishops be authorized and requested to form such churches into separate Annual Conferences whenever in their judgment the interests of the work demand such action.

Thus did the Church South abrogate the Plan of 1844. In the face, then, of these undeniable facts, what becomes of the affirmation, and why is it still insisted on by the Nashville Christian Advocate and other papers that "the territory recognized in 1844 as that of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is still ours"

and nobody else's? These facts are seldom or never mentioned in discussion on federation in Southern Methodist journals, which sit in permanent judgment on the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church, but are seduously kept in the background, so that neither the membership in general of the Church South, nor of the Methodist Episcopal Church, nor that larger public outside, are fully or correctly informed as to the significance of the extraordinary demands now made by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. For it may justly excite amazement in every reasonable mind that representatives of the Church South should ignore all these facts and yet demand that the Methodist Episcopal Church should obey the provisions of that very Plan which the Church South itself has violated and officially repudiated by General Conference action. Such a demand is without a parallel in ecclesiastical history, and in future times may be regarded rather as the egregious blunder of the historian than as the act of a church proclaiming the principles of Christian equity.

In 1865 the Methodist Episcopal Church resumed her work in the South. She did not intrude herself there. She was invited. Nor was the invitation suggested by her. It was the spontaneous movement of thousands of Methodists whose fathers and grandfathers had been members of the old church before the "division" and from which they themselves and their children had been cut off against their unavailing protest by the Plan of Separation. Had it not been for the Methodist Episcopal Church these sheep without a fold or shepherd would have been scattered elsewhere and with their children become lost to Methodism forever. To answer such a call was therefore both a patriotic and a religious duty. From that time the growth of the church in the South has been steady and gratifying. In the Central South Conferences we have now 1,113 ministers, 223,206 members, 211,541 Sunday school scholars, 2,943 churches valued at 6,200,560, and 728 parsonages valued at $1,425,118, and in addition valuable school property in nearly all the Conferences.

III. It now remains to consider the charge that, notwithstanding repeated protestations of fraternity and appointment of Commissions on Federation, the Methodist Episcopal Church has

not withdrawn from the territory of the Church South. Federation does not involve such withdrawal. In view of the foregoing historical facts based on the official Journals, the question naturally arises, Why should she? What legal or moral right has the Church South itself, in the South, that the Methodist Episcopal Church or any other Methodist Church does not possess? But, waiving this, consider:

1. It is an historical fact that the Church South officially accepted the offer of fraternity in 1872 from the Methodist Episcopal Church. Now, that offer was based on the distinct understanding, which is also kept in the background, that the existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South was not to be disputed or her withdrawal therefrom considered. That was not an open question, it was a closed question. The preamble to the resolution which provides for sending fraternal delegates to the Church South adopted by the General Conference of 1872 reads:

> Within the parts of the country in which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has nearly all its membership and institutions (to wit: all the States formerly known as the slave States, except Maryland and Delaware) over three hundred thousand of our members reside, with their houses of worship, institutions of learning, and other church arrangements. Our church is as really settled in that region as in any part of the land, and every consideration of good faith to our own people and of regard to the integrity of our church, and especially of the unmistakable evidence of the favor of God toward effort there, forbids the thought of relaxing our labors in any part of the country in perpetuity; and we have need to strengthen and reënforce our work in it as God shall give us the means and opportunities. (General Conference Journal, 1872.)

On the basis of this resolution containing this open declaration of our right to be in the South and avowed determination to remain there, the General Conference of 1874 of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, received Drs. Hunt and Fowler and General C. B. Fisk as fraternal delegates from the Methodist Episcopal Church. The result of this action was that the General Conference of the Church South appointed commissioners to meet with commissioners from the Methodist Episcopal Church to settle all questions between the two churches relating to *property*. No commission was appointed by either church to discuss the right of the Methodist

Episcopal Church to be in the South, or of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to be in the North. The preamble above quoted prohibited any such discussion. Nor was such a question before the commission. The commission, known as the Cape May Commission, met at Cape May, New Jersey, in August, 1876. The only reference to the Plan of Separation by the Southern commissioners in the preliminary negotiations was that the Methodist Episcopal Church should recognize the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, as a legitimate organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church into a second General Conference jurisdiction, as provided for in 1844 by the last Ecumenical General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. If this could not be done, it is asked that this be "conceded as the status" of the Church South. The result was the *status quo* of both churches was conceded. The interpretation that has since been put upon the purpose and work of that commission is an injustice both to the commission and to the sincerity of the two churches. The sole question, as stated, before that body, and the only one ever mentioned in the reports of the commissions to their respective General Conferences, and adopted by those Conferences, was the settlement of cases in dispute in which both churches claimed to have property rights. To such cases of this kind only were their deliberations directed. There was no question concerning churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South which were not in such controversy. The commission could not advise, as they did, that Methodist Episcopal churches and property be turned over to local Southern Methodist churches, nor for Methodist Episcopal Church, South, churches and other property to be turned over to the Methodist Episcopal Church, if the rightful existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South was not fundamentally acknowledged, or if that church was to withdraw from the South. They could not advise in Rule II, as they did, that,

> In communities where there are two societies, one belonging to the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the other to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which have adversely claimed the church property, that without delay they amicably compose their differences irrespective of the strict legal title and settle the same according to Christian principles.

if the Methodist Episcopal Church was to withdraw from the South, if the *status quo* of the Methodist Episcopal Church in all the territory of the South was not a conceded and acknowledged right without any relation whatever to the doubly repudiated Plan of Separation.

2. The same clear, outstanding fact appears again in the appointment of the present Joint Commission on Federation. No question of the right of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be in the South, or of its withdrawal therefrom, was before the commission which met for the first time in Washington, January, 1898. Nor was the subject ever discussed or even mentioned. The question before this commission was how to avoid competition between the two churches in the same territory. This question was met by the adoption of the following resolution, which was also adopted by the General Conferences of both churches, and thus made equally binding on both churches everywhere, North and South, East and West, and in foreign lands:

> *Resolved*, That we recommend the respective General Conferences to enact provisions to the effect that where either church is doing the work expected of Methodism, the other church shall not organize a society or erect a church building until the bishops of the two churches having in charge that field have been consulted.

Thus again, both by fraternal commission and General Conference action, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, recognized the rightful existence of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South; and whatever limitations were placed upon her by this resolution, such limitations were equally in force against the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Wherever the Methodist Episcopal Church is established in the South, or elsewhere, the Church South shall not, from the adoption of the above resolution by its General Conference, organize a society or erect a church building until the bishops of both churches having charge there, have been consulted. And wherever the Church South is established the Methodist Episcopal Church shall observe the same rule.

In view, then, of all these facts, and of all the history incontrovertible we have summarized in briefest manner, there does not seem to be any rational ground for constant agitation or exploita-

tion of these subjects by Southern Methodist editors, who insist that we must again reopen the graves of the dead past and reënact the Plan of Separation as the only basis for genuine fraternity. Nor is there any convincing ground for denouncing Methodist federation as a farce, and that the Church South "will have none of it"—a decision, however, which is for the Church South to determine. One sure thing is clear: the Church South could not now repudiate 1866 and the Cape May Commission and go back to 1844 if it had never repudiated the Plan of Separation or recognized the *status quo* of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. Nevertheless, in the face of all this the Methodist Episcopal Church, because of her work in the South, is still made a subject of criticism and object of attack. She is charged with failure to carry out agreements entered into and adopted by her General Conferences. Orders are issued by the Church South to its commissioners on federation to enforce (!) compliance with these agreements, as if the Methodist Episcopal Church were again the offender. "Your committee suggests that the commissioners of our church be instructed to continue the effort to secure the enforcement of the agreements already enacted by the General Conferences of the two churches" (Journal General Conference M. E. Church, South, 1906, p. 260). What agreements the Methodist Episcopal Church has not kept is not pointed out. On the other hand, wherever the Church South has desired to organize a society or to erect a church building in the South, there she has entered without regard to the resolution adopted by both churches.

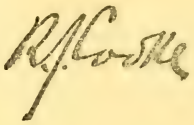
In this same report on federation adopted by the General Conference of the Church South at Birmingham, 1906, the usual charge of waste of men and money is again brought to the front. It is declared that "an effort ought to be made to save the great expenditure of missionary money in these parts of the South where our church is meeting the needs of the people"; that "much good now unattempted could be done were the means now spent in the support of individual churches and Conferences in the South devoted to heathen people." No one, in all these Southern Conferences, I am sure, desires or defends "wasteful" expenditure of men or money. But "it is strange, and passing strange," though we

make no criticism on it whatever, that while the General Conference of the Church South was thus addressing itself to this subject and the needs of the heathen, it should forget its own apparent useless expenditure of men and money in the bounds of Northern Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the West and Northwest. The Methodist Episcopal Church spends little money in the South that she does not get back. In 1906, when the General Conference of the Church South called attention to our "wasteful expenditure," the membership of our Southern Conferences was 143,290. The missionary appropriation to these Conferences was $44,300. The contribution to missions from these Conferences was $40,250. That is, our Southern Conferences paid back, less $4,050, the whole amount that had been appropriated to them.

We now submit a statement of the work of the Northern Conferences of the Church South, except that for these Northern Conferences of the Southern Church the column of missionary contributions embraces the amounts paid for both home and foreign missions: Members, 15,095; missionary appropriation, $15,800; amount contributed, $4,252. That is to say, at the very time the General Conference of the Church South was criticising the Methodist Episcopal Church for useless expenditure of men and money in the South the Church South was spending nearly $16,000 on 15,000 members in the Northwest—more than a dollar for each member—and getting only $4,253 in return for both home and foreign missions. From these facts also there is no appeal except to that charity which covereth a multitude of—mistakes.

And yet, in spite of all this, in spite of all differences and all difficulties, we do not despair. No good cause ever does. Methodist federation is not a farce. It has produced a common Catechism, a common Hymnal and order of worship, unified publishing interests in foreign fields, and demonstrated what may be done if belligerent editors will expend their superfluous energy in building up rather than tearing down. Both churches are in earnest. The love of God and of Methodists North and South with a common heritage will yet prove stronger than all estrangements. Only let us be patient and forbearing, "laying aside all malice and evil

speaking," hasty judgments and unsanctified ambitions sustained by worldly principles and methods of selfish diplomacy. In God's own good time, which we may hasten by courtesy and love and coöperation, the mistakes and follies of men who did the best they could with the light before them will be forgotten, and only their piety and devotion and fruitful labors in building the kingdom of God will be remembered. And then, upon that Methodism, the united Methodism of the future, made wise by history and experience, shall come the promise of God to Israel—"Thy sun shall no more go down, nor thy moon withdraw her rising, for the Lord God shall be thy everlasting light, and the days of thy mourning shall be ended."



Art. VI.—THE SPIRITUAL BEAUTY OF THE DOCTRINE OF EVOLUTION

The fascination of such a title lies in its subtle and true assumption that an underlying harmony really does exist between two realms often set in contrast—the realm of spiritual loveliness and the realm of natural law. What shall be the order of our inquiry? Let it be simple. First, let us remind ourselves in a word what evolution is, and what it is at in the world. Then, secondly, we may inquire as to its invariable accompaniment of beauty, a beauty rising without a break, as the plane of evolution itself rises, into the loftiest forms of spiritual loveliness.

I. What is evolution? "Progress by antagonism, with the survival of the fittest," answers Herbert Spencer from the honored and dusty shelf to which he has now been relegated by a later and more vital philosophy; a good, rough definition for the lower ranges of evolutionary law. What is evolution? "Progressive differentiation of species as the result of adjustment to environment," answers Charles Darwin—a subtler and finer definition for levels of life half way up. What is evolution? "The development of maternity—the creation of human motherhood," answer John Fiske and Henry Drummond, speaking for what they find to be the final outcome of evolutionary processes on the high human levels. Ah, then, something very different here from "progress by antagonism" and "adjustment to environment." It seems that the same evolutionary law, carried higher, reverses its own earlier aspect of selfishness and helps a man to be unselfish and to conquer his environment. Selfish and even brutal, apparently, on the low animal level, the very same evolution develops heroism and develops altruism on the High Alps of humanity, and Drummond's immortal chapter on the "Evolution of a Mother" is justified. And, if this be so, then what? This: that the essence of this law of evolution, accordingly, must be discriminated from the rough or fierce quarries and jungles where it tarries for a night (or for a thousand years) on its way up. In other words, only the large and lofty view of evolution, that view of its field

of operation which takes in man and mind, can be the true view or lead to the true conclusion as to the real errand of evolution itself.

The early mistake of Christian thinkers in so hastily taking up arms against the doctrine of evolution lay in accepting without challenge a low, materialistic definition of the scope of that doctrine. It is only as evolution is admitted to the human altitudes that its noble meaning all the way up becomes apparent, because we judge the nature and essence of a force or a law by its final product, not by its half-way camping grounds; and this is both science and common sense. The key to the meaning of evolution is to be found in man's mental scenery; not down among the mollusks, but at the summit of the evolutionary process in man and man's mind. Evolution is not a tigress, although the "fearful symmetry" "burning bright," to use Blake's curdling phrase, of the tiger's body, is its temporary camping place and playground. Evolution tames tigers—give it time. A few thousand years more and all tigers will be—well—aldermen, let us say! I intend no disrespect to either class. What I am getting at is that it is not in the tigerness of the tiger that we discover what evolution really is and is aiming at in the world. It is in that mother force within the tigress which, gradually working itself clear from the tissues of tigerdom, and incarnating itself, after a thousand approximations, in a human mother's clasp of her child, that we find the soul of the evolutional energy, the essential meaning, the supreme errand, the spiritual content of its law.

II. We are prepared, then, for the second step in the argument. It is this: that from the beginning, all the way up, the law of evolution works with the accompaniment of the principle of beauty, attaining at last to the highest forms of spiritual beauty. The evidence of this fact along lower ranges, the strange inseparableness of beauty from evolution in the physical world, is so familiar, and the fact itself so universally recognized, that we shall be glad to be spared any recital of that evidence so varied and splendid, though, perhaps, we have been dull to its wonderful higher significance. But the thing to be noted is that, as the

force and law of evolution rise in their field of action, so this invariable manifestation of beauty rises also. Evolution evinces no disposition, upon the higher ranges, to swing clear of its accompaniment of beauty, but insists upon it, still more and more, embodying upon every ascending terrace of life the beauty appropriate to that terrace. There must be the beauty of curve and color and motion and order, wave-form and bird-flight, wherever evolution has had its way, but not less as evolution enters the brain and heart of man; its product is a beauty still higher—the fire-opal of imagination and the far flight of thought; and, higher yet, the moral loveliness is evolved. Bravery, and constancy, aye, and the glorious archery of honor and the altar fire of self-sacrifice—all these appear when evolution has its final way upon the summits of human character.

Let us employ a familiar illustration. Evolution is an architect. Here is a great building going up. Now, suppose at the end of the first week we define the architect, and say the architect is a mud-digger. What he is for is to plant broken stone and cement down in yonder mire. All the beauty he cares for is the evenness of solid concrete. Some weeks later we think better of it, and say the architect is a scaffold rigger. What he is for is to spike boards together for a scaffold. Still a little later we further revise our definition, and say an architect is a boss hod-carrier. What he is for is to pack men on a ladder. The beauty he cares for is the equal rhythm of two moving lines of mortar hods up and down. All this would be stupid judgment, just about as stupid as have been our customary and current thoughts about evolution. Only as the finished cathedral at last appears, complete, with its soaring lines of beauty unbroken from foundation to finial, all one great poem of interlacing beam and stone, "a mountain of rock-work set to music," to recall a shining phrase of Dr. Storrs, only from the view-point of the finished and immortal loveliness of some Salisbury or Cologne, can we define the architect or tell what beauty he is really seeking in the world. So of God's master-builder whom we name Evolution. We have stopped in the mortar beds to define him. We have perched on the rough scaffolding to define him. Only from the finished

finials of man's life, personal and social, can we define him; and these finished finials include spiritual beauty. And this theoretic conclusion is justified when we look at the facts and observe how the lower kind of beauty is developed into the higher. Nearly two hundred years ago, for example, a fine but common type of patience was exhibited by a humble Swedish pastor trotting about his obscure rural parish and making his little boy, who trotted at his side, name all the plants by the roadway. But that same patience reappears in higher beauty in the scholarly tirelessness of that same boy grown older, for he was Linnæus, the great botanist. Linnæus himself thus speaks of his debt to his father. Take another instance. One hundred years later, and nearly one hundred years ago, another humble parish pastor was moving about in his little parish of Motiers, near Neuchatel, in Switzerland, and in his daily round stopped often to lift up his heart in wonder at the glory of the great Alps of the Jura around him, and the still greater Bernese Oberland in the southeast distance, and by him also trotted and waited his little son. But it was this humble reverence of the parish pastor that was reproduced in the splendid lamp of adoring homage to the Infinite which that same little boy hung later in the halls of science upon both continents, for his name was Louis Agassiz. Never accepting for himself the theory of evolution, he yet was himself its product. So in all the higher life of man. Mark how the rude sturdiness of Ellery Channing's ancestry comes to its finished blossom in the spiritual gallantry of Channing himself. Think of the softened reverberation of the soldier father's valor in the equal but more delicate bravery of his daughter—the constancy of some Monica of Carthage, the devotion of some Teresa of Spain. Think of the evolutional relation between the hoarse old Viking war-scream, twelve centuries ago, and the white knightliness whose chivalry on land and sea to-day defends the flag we love. Norseman, Norman, Anglo-Norman, Old England, New England, then Lexington's shot, heard and honored in the heavens as well as "round the world"—these indicate the successive terraces along which, with whatsoever other coöperating factors, evolution also clearly climbs, with its inalienable, inseparable accompaniment of higher and higher

forms of intellectual and moral beauty. Evolution is a battle song that ends in a lullaby—yes, in the Te Deum of sacrificial redemption.

I am far from asserting that this spiritual wealth of man's inner experience is *entirely* due to evolution. I do not think it is. The mystery of free will steals in. The mystery of God's free grace swings down. But I do assert that a part of this scenery of mind and soul is the result of evolution. Evolution has its legitimate field and its mighty way here also, and, so far as evolution enters this domain of man's spirit, its products here, as everywhere else, are characterized by beauty. The truth is that the path of natural logic upon this subject has been blocked and confused by our early unfortunate assumption—due to that mêlée of controversy, between ignorant theologians on the one side and arrogant scientists on the other, in the midst of which the modern theory of evolution had such a hard time to get itself introduced to the world—the assumption that evolution is essentially a low, materialistic process. Nothing is farther from the truth. The doctrine of evolution is the most athletic ally of the true church and aid to its true faith which exists at the present hour. Evolution accredits the old germ as much as it does the new form, and shows that the Christian religion survives because it is fittest to survive. We are hardly yet awake to the higher significance of the new investigations in psychology, in sociology, in ethics, even in the development of religious doctrine, as related to the universal presence of the evolutional principle. It is evolution that is carrying up the ark of God to-day.

There are two implications of our argument which should be briefly stated as we close. The first has to do with our faith in God, the second with our faith in immortality. This final result of spiritual loveliness, crowning the processes of evolution, flashes its radiance back upon the original source of the evolutional energy. We admit that the Infinite must always be in some real sense unknown by us. "Lo, these are but parts of his ways, but the thunder of his power who can understand?" Yet, in another sense, it is no less true that from what is at last developed at the summit of the world we can reason back to the nature of the

original Force that produced it. Water does not rise higher than its source. As John Fiske used to say in his later and more Christian thinking, "We must state the Source of the universe in the terms of the final product of the universe." Let us take another familiar illustration. From some rock-cistern in the hills you lead a line of piping down through thicket and mire, underground, till it curves up beneath the cellar of your home, and then, ascending, passes through every story till the current of water it carries is released to play as a fountain in your roof garden. A nosing investigator informs you that he has made an astonishing scientific discovery, namely, that the prismatic play of your roof fountain is evolved from the shelter of the sleeping rooms beneath, and this is evolved from the stuffiness of the parlor floor, and this is evolved from the sordidness of the kitchen, and this from the squalor of the cellar, and this from the very slag and slime itself beneath your house. "I have traced that pipe," he explains, "all the way down, and this is what it comes to, and that is what I find. This is evolution." What will you say to that man? If you say what you think, which is not always the politest way, you will say, "My friend, you are almost, if not quite, several kinds of an idiot. Trace up as well as trace down. Don't you know that the water has to *come down first* in order to rise *as* it does. The 'prismatic play,' as you call it, of the fountain at the summit offers the true standpoint where I can adequately judge how high in the hills my rock reservoir is and what is the quality of the water." So of the light which the evolutional energy at the summit of its process casts back upon the "hollow of God's hand." If a mollusk in a million years will develop into Plato, then that wonderful Platonic tendency in the mollusk argues something back of the mollusk as high as Plato, for water does not rise above the level of its source. The evolutional process culminates, as we have seen, in spiritual beauty, and we argue that the infinite prototype of this beauty dwelt and dwells forever in the Eternal, and it is the strong giant Evolution itself that cries to us, "Hats off," when Jesus says, "Abba, Father." Then, last of all, and in the opposite direction, the great torch and headlight of our theme, from the point to which we have now carried it, streams steadily forward,

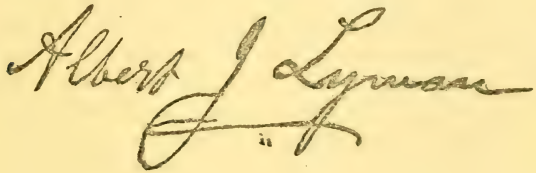
illuminating the path of faith concerning the hereafter, and lending its mighty presumption in favor of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. I do not hesitate to maintain this! The final fruitage of the science of evolutionary biology is faith in a future life. If, as we have argued, and as the facts of evolution show, the genius of evolution reveals itself as ever a lover of the beautiful, and if the noblest form of beauty, even the beauty of the mind, is precisely what all the long process of development from the ascidian upward really aims at, incessantly reaches after, and ultimately attains, then is it reasonable to suppose that this age-long current of tendency is doomed to abrupt and ignominious arrest and defeat at the crevice of the grave? It cannot be. Evolution has, from the beginning, been bent on the spiritual as its final goal. Patient, tireless, determined, like its God, it has sought, through ten thousand ages, the finished glory of the spirit. We cannot believe, we will not believe, that having at last achieved this, realized this, evolution will then, in an instant, surrender all it has won, throw it aside, toss it to the void, and tamely consent to its eternal dissolution at the bidding of some common ruffian growl. Not since the intuition of Socrates and the revelation of Jesus has so clear a note sounded for immortality as that whose bell rope is in the hands of the modern science of evolution. Science also enters yonder old Athenian prison cell and joins with philosophy to declare, "Aye, Socrates, thou reasonest well in asserting the presence within a noble human spirit of that which is too divine to die." A "misgiving," to use Plato's beautiful word, of some higher world steals over us; and it is evolution itself that has developed this anticipatory gleam. The authority of scientific law, then, is behind that foregleam of the hereafter, which it has been the function of the law itself to evolve within my mind, and science indorses love's defiance to death by its proclamation of the survival of the fit, the perpetuity of the fine.

In this great and holy "aftershine" of evolution, then, we may leave the subject. Bathed in immortal beauty, the law of evolution appears head master in the processional of time, sent forth from God, and swinging through the world, and through the eons, ever intent upon its one sublime errand, which is to

carry the lowest to the highest, and from the nameless gulfs of amorphous and inchoate materials to evolve at last a soul so shining in its strength that it can step across, on the level, into the heavens and live with God.

> At last I heard a voice upon the slope
> Cry to the summit, "Is there any hope?"
> To which an answer pealed from that high land,
> But in a tongue no man could understand.
> And on the glimmering limit far withdrawn
> God made himself an awful rose of dawn.

So sang our Tennyson sixty years ago. But within this half century it is our study of the law and the prophecy of human evolution which, beyond anything else, has added a clearer meaning to that voice, a sweeter assurance to that rose.



Art. VII.—THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH

Dogmatic Methodism is based upon the so-called "Apostles' Creed." It is as ancient as that symbol and as comprehensive. Differentiated from other systematic, it is identified with all branches of Christianity by its acceptance of a venerable statement of faith which was originally formulated to discriminate between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. After eighteen centuries the Anglo-Catholic, the Roman Catholic, the Wesleyan, the Presbyterian, the Congregationalist, the Lutheran, the Methodist Episcopalian, the Protestant Episcopalian unite in affirming their religious belief, despite internal antagonisms which render organic union impossible. Perhaps each sectarian (with due apology for the use of a term which seems historically necessary) deems himself a member of the "holy Catholic-catholic church," without denying the rights of all other Christians to membership in that august body, or perhaps, he thinks of "one holy catholic, apostolic church," as an ideal, a sort of mirage, floating in the iridescent spaces of the heavens, remote from the coarse actualities of life in Sardis, Smyrna, Philadelphia, New York or Crabbes Corners. Seldom, indeed, does he set himself the task of settling accounts with his own attitudes, and is content to leave creeds and symbols to the theological specialist. However, every Methodist—however, whenever, or wherever converted—is required to profess belief in the holy catholic church as a prerequisite to baptism and admission into that household of faith, outside of which, technically, there is no salvation, only "uncovenanted mercies," and the justice of a Father whose sunshine falls on the unthankful as on the good. His spiritual advisers may assure him that he merely expresses belief in the "holy general church," and has no concealed sympathies with the church of Pope Pius X, but it is to be doubted if they ever seriously teach him what "*sanctam ecclesiam*" is—or what is implied in a solemn profession of faith in such an institution as a church, or "congregation of faithful men," which is both "holy" and "catholic," and, by implication, "one" and "apostolic." And, after more than forty years' knowledge of the

Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of North America, I have yet to hear of one Methodist preacher who ever explained to his charge what was meant by the baptismal avowal of belief in the church as "holy" and as "catholic." And I have yet to learn of a layman sincere enough to demand of his minister an exposition of that article of his creed which requires faith in an institution which, in fact, is neither "general" nor "holy."

There is, in the obscure background, I am convinced, an impression that it is not necessary to think clearly on the subject at all, that the essence of religion does not inhere in the formulas of the old Roman symbol, and that even if acceptance of it is a *sine qua non* of church membership, one may hold it in suspense or abeyance, or, indeed, entirely repudiate the claims made by the framers of the symbol, that the church is a holy institution, not because its members are holy, but because it has the so-called "means of grace," and so of promoting the holiness of those who receive the "means," and, ultimately, of "saving" them. How much is actually involved in the repetition of the creed does not appear, and yet nothing is more evident to one who looks critically at the church service than that the creed should not be repeated at all, or that the ministry should devote itself with apostolic fervor to efforts for the realization of all the ethical and organic ideals expressed or implied in the term "church." This will preserve intact the enthusiasms of the ministry and vitalize a pulpit whose temptation is evasion of martyrdom. The Methodist preacher *par excellence* is morally bound to conduct every service so as to aid in the advancement of holiness. His "gospel" is the gospel of "holiness," and the goal of his ministry, so far as he himself is concerned and so far as his "people" are concerned, is to realize the ideals of sainthood. The "church" is not an abstract, intangible, remote dream, but an actual society, and its members are oath-bound to live according to the laws that inhere in the life of God. It is not too much to say that they are obligated to live without sin, or that they recognize the obligations which are latent in the relations that exist between man and man, and between man and the God in whom he lives and moves and has his being. This being true, nothing ought to be done in the name of the church which

does not directly contribute to the conservation of the holiest impulses. From the opening words of a church service to the last words of the benediction, every feature of it is designed to develop the spirit of holiness. By this the church stands or falls. Not only so, but the church is bound to recognize its mission to every human being on the face of the globe. "The church was universal," says McGiffert, "not simply because it was spread everywhere, but because it was for everyone, and so belonged to and had a meaning for the whole world." To emphasize this Paul wrote his letter to the church at Rome. The church is not for the elect; it is for all men everywhere, and its mission is organized to appeal to the universal moral instincts. When it becomes exclusive it ceases to be a church as surely as it ceases to be a church when it ceases to be holy. There is nothing which has more swiftly blighted church life than the culture of caste—the spirit which excludes the non-élite of society. Hundreds of Methodist churches, especially in cities, are dying because it is universally known that they are class churches, and that their representative men are ruthless administrators of capital and exploiters of labor. They are as far from the spirit of John Wesley as from the Spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, and as completely fail to reproduce the spirit of the primitive church as the plutocracy of the United States fails to embody the dreams of the men of '76.

Hierarchic organization of itself tends to destroy the essential elements of holiness and catholicity, and its animus descends from the successful aspirants to place and power to the obscurest member of a circuit church among the mountains of Kentucky. Only the spirit of a fellowship comports with the notes of sanctity and catholicity, a fellowship whose notes are liberty, equality, and fraternity. Where these are there is the true church, because where these are there is the Spirit of that Man who perfectly obeyed the law of God in the impulses of a supreme unselfishness.

G. M. Hammell

Art. VIII.—A NEW ESSAYIST

There is a masterful and strenuous gentleman who is now, or was recently, hunting lions in Africa. Like death, this gentleman claims all men and times and seasons for his own. For present purposes we may adopt his own modest characterization of himself: "An elderly gentleman, with a somewhat varied past and a tendency to rheumatism." This gentleman, who is a man of literature as well as of men, took with him into the wilds of Africa a collection of books which he named, from the substance of their binding, "The Pigskin Library." In the nearly two score authors there is but one living essayist, and it is of his works that I wish to speak. I have called him "A New Essayist," and I think the adjective is fairly accurate even in a land and age where the new so quickly becomes the old, for it is only six years since his first volume of essays was published. Those who have not read him have a delightful experience in store, and those who are familiar with his writings will be glad to be reminded of the fresh and spicy flavor which must have charmed their literary taste. It was the freshness, spontaneity and pungent flavor of his work that first drew me to our "pigskin" essayist. Samuel McChord Crothers was born in Illinois fifty-two years ago. He is a graduate of Princeton and of Union Theological Seminary. His early pastorates were in Nevada and California. In view of the tempering that was to come afterward, it was a great thing for him to have spent his early years in the "wild and woolly West." He knows the wheat fields of the Dakotas and the alkali plains. He is familiar with the swaggering cowpunchers and the sulphurous-tongued promoters who shot up the street of Canyon City and salted the mines in Dead Man's Gulch. This is why he writes, "It is only as they turn westward that Americans discover America. The West is a feeling, an irresistible impulse. It is associated with the verb 'to go.'" The symbol of the West is a plank sidewalk leading out from a brand-new prairie town and pointing to a thriving suburb which as yet exists only in the mind of its projector. There is something pathetic in that sidewalk on which the foot of man has

never trod. Our essayist says that when one has been touched with this Western fever he never completely recovers; though he may change his environment, he is always subject to intermittent attacks, and by way of illustration remarks that on his first evening in Oxford, England, he was introduced to one of the Dons in academic garb.

> When he learned that I was an American, there was a sudden thaw in his manner. "Have you ever been in Dodge City, Kansas?" he inquired, eagerly. I modestly replied that I had only passed through on the railway, but being familiar with other Kansas towns, and reasoning through analogy, could tell about what sort of a place it was. This was enough. I had experienced the West and was one of the initiated. I could enter into that state of mind represented by the realm of Dodge City. It appeared that in the golden age, when he and Dodge City were both young, he had sought his fortune for some months in Kansas. He discoursed of the mighty men of those days, when every man did what was right in his own eyes and good-humoredly allowed his neighbor to do likewise. As we parted he said, with a mournful acquiescence in his present estate, "Oxford does very well, you know, but it isn't Dodge City."

Now upon the plant so rooted and grounded was grafted the culture of the East. In 1894 our essayist came to live under the shadows of Harvard University and was installed as pastor of the First Parish Church, Unitarian, at Cambridge. It is small wonder that, walking along the paths where Lowell and Longfellow and Oliver Wendell Holmes had preceded him, breathing the literary atmosphere which they had created, and passing every day the door of the Atlantic Monthly, our Westerner should in a decade become as polished an essayist as though he had the blood of Dorothy Q. in his veins. Madame de Staël said to Sir John McIntosh across a dinner table, "Napoleon is not a man, he is a system." And one equally brilliant, and possessed of the same discriminating spirit, has said, "Boston is not so much a place as a state of mind." The Bostonian enjoys his state of mind none the less because he is aware that outsiders are not always able to enter into it, but here is a man who proves himself, whatever his parentage, to be "to the manner born." You will remember that Dr. John Brown tells a pleasant story of a countryman who, being asked to account for the gravity of his dog, said: "Oh, sir, life is full of sariousness to him. He just niver gets 'nuff o' feehtin'."

Burrell adds that something of the spirit of this dog seems lately to have entered into the very people who ought to have been freest from it—our men of letters. "They are all very serious and very quarrelsome. Authors ought not to be above being reminded that it is their first duty to write agreeably. Literature exists to please, to lighten the burden of men's lives, to make them for a short while forget their sorrows and sins, their silent hearths, their disappointed hopes and grim futures, and those men of letters are best loved who have best performed literature's truest office." Measured by this standard, I think our essayist is entitled to at least a modest niche in the temple of literary fame. In some points he resembles Lowell, but in more proves himself to have in his veins the literary blood of Oliver Wendell Holmes. One cannot read his little book on Holmes without feeling that he has not only written *con amore,* but that his own life is pitched to the same literary key and that he can sing the cheery song which Holmes sang before his voice felt the quiver of age. In his essay on "The Autocrat and His Fellow Boarders," published recently in the Atlantic Monthly, he has some general reflections on essays and essayists which are very interesting because very true. You will remember the title of Holmes's book, The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, or Every Man His Own Boswell. Crothers reminds us that no man can be his own Boswell except he be an egotist. Ordinarily, it is not considered good form for a man to talk much about himself, but with the essayist the first person singular is his stock in trade. He is interested in the human mind and likes to chronicle its queer goings on. He is curious about its inner working.

> Now it happens that the only mind of which he is able to get a view is his own, and so he makes the most of it. He follows his mind about, taking notes of all its haps and mishaps. He is aware that it may not be the best intellect in the world, but it is all he has, and he cannot help becoming attached to it. A man's mind grows on acquaintance. For a person to be his own Boswell implies that he is also his own Dr. Johnson. Dr. Johnson must have enough opinions, obstinacies, and insights to make the Boswellizing worth while. The natural history of a mental vacuum cannot be made interesting to the general reader. . . . The Autocrat was singularly fortunate in making his deliverances in a Boston boarding house, where he had a nervous landlady to please, an opinionated old man

ready to be displeased, a theological student who wanted to know, an angular female in black bombazine, and a young fellow named John who cares for none of these things. Matthew Arnold speaks of "the fever of some differing soul." In America to know "the fever of some differing soul" is part of the fun. We do not think of ourselves as in an intellectual realm where every man's house is his castle. We are all boarders together. There are no gradations of rank. Nobody sits below the salt. . . . The first sentence of the Autocrat strikes the keynote: "I was just going to say when I was interrupted." Here we have the American philosopher at his best. He is inured to interruptions. He is graciously permitted to discourse to his fellow citizens on the good, the true, and the beautiful; but he must be mighty quick about it. He must know how to get in his words edgewise. "Will you allow me to pursue this subject a little further?" asked the Autocrat. Then he adds, dismally, "They didn't allow me." The lady in bombazine remarks, acidly, "I don't think people who talk over their victuals are likely to say anything great."

And then there was the other boarder whom Holmes describes as the model of all the virtues. She was the natural product of a chilly climate and high culture.

There was no handle of weakness to hold her by. She was as unsizable, except in her entirety, as a billiard ball. On the broad table where she had been knocked about, like all of us, by the cue of fortune, she glances on one attack and caroms on another, and rebounds with exact and angular movements.

Concerning literature in general, and the transcendental school in particular, our essayist interjects the remark:

In the first part of the nineteenth century a great wave of didactic literature swept over the English and American reading public. A large number of conscientious ladies and gentlemen simultaneously discovered that they could write improving books, and at once proceeded to do so. Their aim was to make the path of duty so absolutely plain that the "wayfaring man, though a fool, could not err therein." The wayfaring man who was more generously endowed had a hard time of it by reason of the advice which was thrust upon him. The Laborer's Guide, The Parent's Assistant, The Afflicted Man's Companion, were highly esteemed by persons who liked to have a book to tell them to go in when it rained.

That our essayist is up to date in illustrations cannot be denied. He says the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table was not easy to write. No good book is. The writer who is unusually fluent should take warning from the instructions which accompany his fountain pen: "When this pen flows too freely it is a sign that it is nearly empty and should be refilled." For myself,

Crothers is unusually suggestive. Laurence Sterne gives the secret of his own method of writing. "In course," said Yorick, "in a tone two parts jest and one part earnest." Though you must be shaken out of your indifference and dullness by the jest, you are impressed, in Crothers's essays, that there are at least two parts of motive and conviction to one part of jest. He is prodigal of thought. What Dr Holmes said about himself would, much of it, apply to Crothers. "I talk half the time to find out my own thoughts, as a schoolboy turns his pockets inside out to see what is in them."

Crothers's first book of essays is the one in the "Pigskin Library" entitled The Gentle Reader. Following that came The Pardoner's Wallet, in 1905, and By the Christmas Fire in 1908. The frontispiece of his last book, By the Christmas Fire, represents an old man sitting in an armchair and stirring the fire in the fireplace with a poker, and the first essay is on "The Bayonet Poker." "As I sit by my Christmas fire I now and then give it a poke with my bayonet. It is an old-fashioned British bayonet which has seen worse days. I picked it up in a little shop in Birmingham for two shillings. I was attracted to it, as I am to all reformed characters. The hardened old sinner, having had enough of war, was a candidate for a peaceful position, and I was glad to have a hand in his reformation. To transform a sword into a plowshare is a matter for a skilled smith, but to change a bayonet into a poker is within the capacity of a less skilled mechanic. All that is needed is to forsake the murderous rifle barrel and cleave to it a short wooden handle. Henceforth its mission is not to thrust itself into the vitals of men, but to encourage combustion on winter nights." And then he falls to philosophizing as to how the bayonet poker fits into the Christmas idea. One does not wonder that Roosevelt was pleased to take with him The Gentle Reader. It would be just the kind of a book for a man to read when he had unbuckled his belt, unwound his buckskins, gotten all the comfort he could out of a rubber bathtub, and was seated under a baobab tree, with his feet on the carcass of a lion, at peace with himself and all the world. In more civilized lands the book would make a fine background with the foreground filled

by a fireplace, with a foot-stove and a warming-pan in the corner, and apples, nuts and popcorn within easy reach. What a pity that such a delightful setting is almost impossible to find in our day! Somebody has said that "even the names which reminded us of happy days are passed away." Even periodicals are changed to suit the times, and instead of The Christian Fireside, we have The Christian *Register*. Here is literature for literature's sake. There is no terrible moral to make your heart beat fast or stare you out of conceit with yourself, no reminder that you are wasting your time if you undertake anything less than the Higher Criticism or Hegelian Cosmology. "The Gentle Reader"! how familiar that sounds. As if you had just taken down a cloth-covered book, black, of course, printed in 1820 or earlier, and, blowing off the dust, had opened at the Preface.

> What has become of the Gentle Reader? One does not like to think that he has passed away, with the stagecoach and the Weekly News Letter, and that henceforth we are to be confronted only by the stony glare of the Intelligent Reading Public. They used to dedicate books to him generations ago, and stop in the very middle of a story to address a word of apology or explanation to the Gentle Reader. . . . Nobody but the Gentle Reader could take up a dull book and enjoy it in the spirit in which it was written. The generation that delighted in Fielding and Richardson had some staying power. A book was something to tie to. No one would say jauntily, "I have read Sir Charles Grandison," but only, "I *am reading* it." The characters of fiction were not treated as transient guests, but as life-long companions, destined to be a solace in old age. The short story, on the other hand, is invented for people who want a literary quick lunch. "Tell me a story," cries the greedy devourer of modern literature. "Serve it hot, and be mighty quick about it." . . .
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> Of all the devices for promoting a good understanding with the Gentle Reader the old-fashioned preface was the most excellent. In these days the preface is reduced to the smallest possible space. It is like the platform of an electric car, which affords the passenger a precarious foothold while he strives to obey the stern demand of the conductor that he move forward. But time was when the preface was the wide, hospitable porch on which the author and the reader sat for an hour or so and talked over the subject that was before them. Sometimes they talked so long that they almost forgot their ostensible subject.

There is one chapter on "The Mission of Humor," and one on "The Gentle Reader's Friends Among the Clergy." In the first essay the author says:

An artistic sensibility finds its satisfaction only in the perfect. Humor is the frank enjoyment of the imperfect. Its objects are not so high, but there are more of them. Evolution is a cosmic game of "Pussy wants a corner." Each creature has its eye on some snug corner where it would rest in peace. The corner is occupied by some other creature that is not altogether satisfied, and he is on the lookout for some larger sphere. There is much beckoning between those who are desirous of making a change. Now and then some bold spirit gives up his position and scrambles for something better. The chances are that the adventurer finds it harder to attain the coveted place than he had thought. For the fact is that there are not enough corners to go around. If there were enough corners, and everyone were content to stay in the one where he found himself at the beginning, then the game would be impossible. It is well that this never happens. Nature looks after that. When things are too homogeneous she breaks them up into new and amazing kinds of heterogeneity. It is a good game, and one learns to like it after he enters into the spirit of it.

Humor is impossible to a man of one idea. There must be at least two ideas moving in opposite directions so that there will be a collision. Such does not happen in a mind under economic management that only runs one train of thought a day.

And then our author brings us samples of humor from the days of the great Samuel Johnson down to the good-humored Charles Lamb.

"There has been such a falling off in clerical character," says the Gentle Reader.

In the old books it was a pleasure to meet a parson. He was so simple at heart that you feel at home with him at once. You know just where you will find him, and he always takes himself and his profession for granted. He may be a trifle narrow, but you make allowances for that, and as for his charity, it has no limits. You expect him to give away everything he lays his hands on. As for his creed, it is always the same as the church to which he belongs, which is a great relief and saves no end of trouble. But the clergyman I meet with in novels nowadays is in a chronic state of fidgetiness. Nothing is as it seems or ought to be. He is as full of problems as an egg is full of meat. When the busy man is not fretting against all evildoers he begins to fret because of the welldoers, who do well in the old-fashioned way without any proper knowledge of the higher criticism or sanitary drainage. He is one of those trying characters of whom some one has said that "we can hear their souls scrape." I prefer the old-time parsons. They were much more comfortable and in more rugged health. I like the phrase "Bishops and other clergy." Bishops are great personages, whose lives are written, and, like the lives of the Lord Chancellors, they are not always very readable. But my heart goes out to the "other clergy," the good, sensible men, who were not great

scholars, reformers nor martyrs, and therefore do not get into the church histories, but who keep things going. It would be interesting to discover the origin of the idea that sermons are long. A sermon is seldom as long as it seems. But it is always with trepidation that the listener observes in a discourse a constitutional tendency to longevity. In his opinion, the good die young.

The Gentle Reader discourses most beautifully about the Canterbury Tales, and reminds us that they end with the Canterbury Sermon. He says there was one ministerial weakness from which Chaucer's parson was free, the love of alliteration. He recalls that bit of history distressing to every Republican, how a worthy clergyman was addicted to this habit and instead of the "three R's" enumerated rum, Romanism, and rebellion. The chances are that he meant no offense to his Roman Catholic fellow citizens, but, once on the toboggan slide of alliteration, he could not stop. If instead of rum he had begun with whisky, his homiletic instinct would have led him to say that the three perils of the republic are "whisky, war, and woman suffrage." Out of Shakespeare the Gentle Reader culls an interesting fellowship for the parson.

When Mr. Slender declares his resolution, "After this I'll ne'er be drunk while I live again, but in honest, civil, godly company. If I be drunk, I'll be drunk with those who fear God," the convivial curate responds, "So God judge me, that shows a virtuous mind." So late as the eighteenth century a traveler in Wales remarks that the ale house was usually kept by the parson. One wonders, then, whether the Welsh ministers' meetings were given over to lugubrious essays on "Why We Don't Reach the Masses."

You will be glad to tramp with the Gentle Reader down the literature of the centuries, and stop now and then at the welcome door of a cheery parson.

For mental alertness and keen thrust at human foibles Crothers's best essays are doubtless to be found in The Pardoner's Wallet. Our essayist says: "I have no plea to make for this Fourteenth Century pardoner." A few bites out of his chapter on "Prejudices" will serve us to get its flavor. For instance:

It is only during a heated campaign that we think of all the opposing parties as rascals. There is time between elections to make the necessary

exceptions. It is customary to make allowances for a certain amount of partisan bias, just as the college faculty allows a student a certain number of cuts. It is a just recognition of human weakness. Religious prejudice is a combination of religion and several decidedly earthly passions. The combination produces a peculiarly dangerous explosive. The religious element has the same part in it as innocent glycerin has in nitro glycerin. This is a combination produced by a mixture of nitric and sulphuric acid on glycerin at low temperatures. It is observable that in the making of religious prejudice the religion is kept at a very low temperature indeed. To love our friends is the work of nature; to love our enemies is the work of grace. The troublesome thing is to get on with those that are betwixt and between. In such a case we are likely to fall between nature and grace, as between two stools. Almost anyone can be magnanimous in great affairs, but to be magnanimous in trifles is like trying to use a large screwdriver to turn a small screw. It is pleasant to see brethren dwelling together in unity, but it is seldom prolonged to the point of satiety.

Every intellectual investigator who has his logical faculties constantly under strain will find rare delight in his essay, "How to Know the Fallacies." It is evidently modeled on that excellent treatise for the uninitiated, "How to Know the Wild Flowers." This chapter is really the product of his friend, "Scholasticus." Scholasticus, it ought to be said, was in a bad way. He had been educated before the elective system came in and he had a pathetic veneration for the curriculum of his day. It was to him the sacred ark now, alas, carried away into the land of the Philistines. He would say:

"The intellectual world is topsy-turvy. What is to be expected of a generation that learns to write before it learns to read, and learns to read before it learns to spell; or, rather, which never does learn to spell? In his day small children were supposed to be pleased with a rattle and tickled with a straw. But nowadays even babies begin with the esoteric doctrine of their playthings. Having made a false start, he goes farther and farther into the wilderness. He is very observing, but he does not put two and two together. There they stand in his mind, two separate ideas, politely ignoring one another because they have not been properly introduced. How many people do you come across with whom it is a pleasure to hold an argument? Not many. They don't know the rules of the game." . . . In his day folks knew how to deal with knotty problems. "If they survived the school they could not be drowned in a town meeting."

Our essayist labors with him. Every system has its failures. If that of the present day seems to have more than its share it is because its failures are still in evidence while those of your gen-

eration are mostly forgotten. At last it was inferred that Scholasticus was writing a book. It appears in due time with the title which heads our essay. In the preface we are told that arguments as they are found in the state of nature are of two kinds—those that hang together, and those that only seem to hang together. These latter are called "fallacies."

"The search for fallacies need never take one far afield. The collector may find almost all known varieties in his own inclosure. The trouble with thinking straight is that it is likely to take us too far from home. The first we know we are facing new issues. From this peril we are saved by the habit of going round and round. He who argues and runs away from the real difficulty lives to argue another day, and the best of it is the argument will be just the same."

In the species *argumentum ad hominem,* he says there are few greater pleasures in life than that of having all our preferences justified by our reason. Such people never do wrong. For the more they think about it the more pleased they are with themselves. "They are like a person who tumbles into the Dead Sea. He cannot go under if he tries."

There is a fine chapter on the "Cross-fertilization of the Fallacies." The author shows how two half-principles brought together from two widely separate fields will produce a new and magnificently variegated form of opinion. "The hybrid we produce surpasses either of the specimens of the parent stock in size and showiness. Thus a half truth of popular religion cross-fertilized by a half truth of popular science will produce a hybrid which astonishes both the religious and scientific world. If we follow the analogy of mathematics, we might assume that two half truths would make a whole truth, but when we are dealing with the marvelously productive powers of nature we find that they make much more than that." And there is a chapter or two on the "Dwarfing of Argument." "The complaint is sometimes heard that an argument which is otherwise satisfactory proves too much. This may seem a good fault to those whose chief difficulty is in making their arguments prove anything at all. But I assure you it is really very troublesome to find that you have proved more than you intended. You may have no facilities for dealing with the surplus conclusions. For this reason many persons, instead

of cultivating arguments of standard size, which take a good deal of room, prefer the dwarf varieties." In the chapter on the use of "Artificial Fertilizers," Scholasticus dwells particularly upon statistics. He says their importance in the cultivation of valid arguments is universally acknowledged. But in this case success depends upon the extreme care with which they are used.

If solid conclusions that head well are expected, only experts of good character can be trusted to do the work. There is no such difficulty in the use of statistics if the grower is content with arguments of the fallacious order. Statistics are recommended for a mulch. By covering a bed of fallacies with a heavy mulch of statistical matter it is protected from the early frosts and the later drought. The ground of the argument is kept thus in good condition. No particular care is here needed in the application of statistics. Any man who can handle a pitchfork can do all that is required. I have seen astonishing results obtained in this way. No one need be deterred by the consideration of expense. In these days statistics are so cheap that they are within the reach of all. If you do not care to use the material freely distributed by the government, you can easily collect a sufficient amount for yourself.

Our essayist congratulated Scholasticus on his book and said: "You have taught us by a natural method how to reason fallaciously. I wish you would now teach us how to reason correctly." "I wish I could," said Scholasticus.

And now, as we leave our essayist, just a glance under the mask of Thalia. Because the author has a reputation as a humorist, let him not be received with an expectant smile. Nothing could be more disconcerting to his sensitive spirit, and besides, how can you know that he has not a very serious message to communicate?

"A penny for your thoughts," we say lightly, knowing that this hidden treasure cannot be bought. The world may be described in a formal fashion, as if it were an unchanging reality; but how the world appears to each inhabitant of it he alone can declare. Now and then is one born with a gift of true self-expression. In his speech we recognize the real person, and not the confused murmur of a multitude. Institutions and traditions do not account for him; his thought is the more fundamental fact. Here is a unique bit of knowledge. There is no other way of getting at it than that of the Gentle Reader—to shut out the rest of the world and listen to the man himself.

E. L. Goodell.

Art. IX.—MUSIC AND WORSHIP

The place of music in worship is a fundamental one. Music is a natural method of expressing religious thought and emotion, planned by God as a means of communication between God and man. It is the oldest of the arts and common to all nations. In the history of Hebrew worship we can trace it back to Jubal, the grandson of Methusael, who in turn was the great-great-grandson of Cain. His half brother, Tubal-Cain, is revered as the founder of the family of "Smiths," and Jubal is referred to as "the father of all such as handle the harp and pipe."[1] In corroboration of the Genesis history is the persisting fact that the Persian and Arabian name for musician is "Kayne." Music had attained an elaborate development when Jacob fled from the house of his father-in-law, as is revealed by the reproach of Laban when he overtook the fugitive: "Wherefore didst thou flee secretly, and steal away from me, and didst not tell me, that I might have sent thee away with mirth and with songs, with tabret and with harp?"[2] Job mentions the three possible kinds of instruments—percussion, string, and wind—when he speaks in one sentence of the timbrel, the harp, and the pipe.[3] From the most ancient times music has been the handmaid of worship. Miriam led the women of Israel with timbrels and dances as they sang praises unto Jehovah for their deliverance from the Egyptians. With the elaboration of Hebrew worship music was given a constantly more prominent place, until, in the old age of Israel's greatest bard, of the 38,000 Levites 4,000 were musicians, and of this number 288 were accounted skilled musicians.[4] If direct sanction for Christian song were needed, it could be found in Jesus himself leading the disciples in the singing of a psalm before they went from the upper chamber to the garden of Gethsemane. Paul and James both exhort their readers to sing,[5] and in song Paul and Silas gained consolation in prison at the midnight hour.[6] It is to be acknowledged, however, that when we speak of music we mean a very dif-

[1] Gen. 4. 21; James 5. 13. [2] Gen. 31 27. [3] Job 21. 12
[4] 1 Chron. 23. 5; 25. 7. [5] Col. 3. 16; Eph. 5. 19. [6] Acts 16. 25.

ferent thing from the timbrel-shaking of Miriam and the trumpet-blowing of Joshua and even the harping and singing of David—yes, different from the singing of Christ and the apostles and even the elaborate music of the Middle Ages. For harmony is only three hundred years old, and harmony has made music a new thing. Before that music was all simple melody, just a succession of single tones, sometimes a tune well pronounced, again not even tuneful enough to be attractive and learnable. With the discovery and development of harmony comes the balancing of note over against note to form a chord, a number of notes sounded at the same time, harmoniously and pleasantly. Instead of a succession of single notes music has become a succession of chords with the possibility of a greater variety of effects than the moves upon a chess board. With the understanding of the theory of harmony has come the perfection of musical instruments, chief among which in value have been the organ and piano, which place under the easy and constant control of the operator two full octaves and make possible the reproduction of almost infinite variety of effects. And now, the mere "concord of sweet sounds" may be worshipful. The mind untutored in the intricacies of music is lifted into the heavenlies by Verdi's Requiem or the Angel's Song in Guilmant's Funeral March.

The vibratory theory of sound and light is accepted as fact. The air vibrates and we hear either a noise or a musical note. If the vibration is very slow, the note is very low in pitch. The faster the vibration the higher the pitch. A wire string vibrates sixteen times a second. The string, striking the air, sets the air vibrating in time with it. The air waves beat upon the inner ear, and there, where is found a harp with *eleven thousand* strings, one string responds to the vibrations of the air and a sensation is carried to the brain, and we hear the lowest note the average ear is capable of distinguishing. The average person can distinguish eleven thousand different tones, or about nine octaves. The highest tone the human ear can distinguish is usually one produced by 20,000 to 22,000 vibrations a second, though some very sensitive ears can receive and distinguish vibrations of 50,000 a second. The extreme limits of the human voice seldom pass below 87 or

above 778 vibrations a second, although Christine Nilsson's high F above high C means 1,365 vibrations a second. Permeating all matter and all space is an attenuated substance known as ether. The ether vibrates, and the vibrations reach the flesh and heat is felt. The vibrations increase, and the retina of the eye is affected, and we see. The lowest vibrations of ether which we can sense are at the rate of 18,000,000 a second, and when these reach us we are conscious of heat. The iron gets hotter and hotter until the vibrations sent forth are 471,982,000,000 a second, and the iron glows, and we have reached the point of luminosity, or red heat. The vibrations still increase and we pass through the spectrum until we reach the limit in the violet colors with 733,000,000,000 vibrations a second. Between the 50,000 vibrations of the highest musical note any ear is capable of hearing and the 18,000,000 vibrations of the first sensations of heat, there is a great blank. Vibrations there certainly are, but we cannot sense them. They make no impression upon the ear, or eye, or nerves of touch. There is reason to believe that there are vibrations faster than the rate of the deep violets, but from the eye of man they are concealed and perform their miracles in what to man is the densest darkness. God has set the universe a-vibrating. He permits man to discover but a part of his secrets. Had we sense acute enough, who knows what pleasures of sense would be ours as great as the warmth of the May sunshine, as inspiring as the glories of the sunset, as satisfying as the stately movement of Von Weber's symphony! And so music is made by God. Man discovers and controls, thinking *some* of God's thoughts after him, but not all. Music is divine. Says Byron:

> There's music in the sighing of the reed,
> There's music in the gushing of the rill;
> There's music in all things, if men had ears,
> The earth is but an echo of the spheres.

Beethoven became deaf at thirty and some of his greatest compositions were produced without his being able to hear them save as a very deaf person hears. But his soul vibrated in harmony with God and nature. In an old tree outside of Vienna he composed the Ninth Symphony. It was first played in Vienna May 7, 1824.

The deaf musician himself held the baton and, unable to hear, conducted the orchestra, but because his soul sang the wonderful harmonies, he swayed the multitude first into rapturous silence and then into tumultuous applause. We can understand something of how this could be when we read his definition: "Music is the manifestation of the inner essential nature of all that is." Thus the modern discoveries in the field of music add confirmation to the historical conclusion that music has a fundamental part in worship. Unaided by human voice or written or spoken language, music can touch the heart and bring the spirit into contact with spirit, the composer, the interpreter, the hearer, and God.

The most common use of music in the worship of to-day is in congregational singing. But for another reason also it is the most important, namely, because of its *expressive* value. The church service is divided naturally into two parts, as the various exercises contribute either to making an impression or aiding in expression. The Scripture reading and sermon are chiefly for purposes of impression. True, the reading of the psalms is often an opportunity for the entire congregation to voice their prayer in the words of the ancient singer, and the preacher often speaks for his entire audience in the expression of lofty sentiments. But the movement, intelligently directed, is toward a goal, and that goal a definite expression to be created. On the other hand, prayer and song are for purposes of expression. There are preachers who have the reputation of being able to preach a sermon in a prayer. That is never appropriate. There is a higher function for the public prayer. It should be addressed to God, and not to the congregation. It should be the outpouring of the full heart, not an elocutionary delivery before a company of people. True prayer results when the prayer so identifies himself with the congregation that he thinks their thoughts, bears their burdens, faces their difficulties, struggles with their temptations, and so voices them that the worshiper feels, "There, that is what I wanted to say." So, also, the chief value of the hymn is as a means of expression. This balance should be kept. The organ, choir, and soloist are mostly on the side of the sermon, and add to the impressions made. As a church we have gone far enough in our emphasis on the value of

the sermon. The "foolishness of preaching" is still the chief means of winning men to Christ, but every congregation needs opportunity to express itself, and this opportunity is found preëminently in the congregational hymn. It remains to be said that there is value in the impression of true expression. As the singer interprets faithfully the message of the song, as the player lets the soul of the composer speak through his music, as the preacher gives effective expression to his message, the impression is successfully made, and who is there who has not felt the thrill that comes from joining with the great congregation in singing the great hymns set to the great tunes of the church, when throat and lips, as well as mind and heart and soul, vibrate in unison with the multitude!

How to secure good congregational singing is one of the most practical questions that concern the conduct of public worship. Much depends upon the selection of the hymns, which will be determined by the above principles. The first two hymns are for pure worship, chiefly, an expression of the reach of the soul for God, though they may also be wisely introductory to the prayer and sermon in sentiment. The third hymn is the great opportunity. Whatever else it does, it should clinch the message of the sermon. It should express the consequent resolve that naturally follows the conclusion of the message. After a sermon on "Personal Evangelism," "Rescue the Perishing" is better than it could possibly be at the beginning of the service. The sermon was on sin and forgiveness, and the closing hymn, "Rock of Ages," meant more to both congregation and preacher than it ever had before, and the people meant what they sang. Of course, only words that are worth while will be admitted. Perhaps doggerel has its place, but it is not in the church hymnal. Of still greater importance in securing results is the selection of singable tunes. Many good hymns have been doomed to oblivion by a union not made in heaven. A singable tune is one with a good melody, or "air." A tune with an easy, natural, flowing melody will be sung successfully by any congregation. The great and popular hymns are all sung to such tunes. Much depends upon the leading of the singing. There is no doubt that a good precentor, backed by a sympa-

thetic organist, will secure better results than anything else. A good choir is of great assistance, and in that case it is best if the leader also acts as precentor. An organist who knows how can lead a congregation as he will, within certain limits. We have seen an audience melted to tears just by the playing of a hymn introductory to its singing, and then sing it as we have never heard it sung. But there are very few organists who can *lead* a congregation in singing. As a rule the congregation by its dragging leads the organist. The attitude of the preacher may go far toward making for success. If he announces a hymn with enthusiasm and reads it with intelligence, it will be enthusiastically and intelligently sung. An occasional exhortation, especially in learning a new hymn, is timely in a Methodist church, though few to-day would so break the dignified movement of the service as to follow Wesley's rule for guarding against formality in worship, especially in singing, "By often stopping short and asking, 'Now, do you know what you said last? Did you speak no more than you felt?'" But this is a good question for individuals to put to themselves. Only cheerful hymns should be used. Doleful words and doleful tunes have no place in a Christian service, last of all at a funeral. Nor have they rightful place in a Christian song book. Cultivate expression. Not every hymn is to be sung on the gallop or with full blare of trumpets. Some are to be sung in whispers, some in dignified and stately time. In almost every hymn there is one verse that is to be sung more softly than all the rest. Use the softest stops, and breathe the song-prayer quietly. Sometimes sing a stanza without accompaniment. Learn the great hymns of the church, some of which are neglected, like "Creation," "Hark, Hark, my Soul," "Jerusalem the Golden," etc. Sometimes tell the story of a hymn. Luther's great battle hymn is not easy to sing. It is never sung in the majority of churches. But tell its story, connect it with the Reformation and the trying days when it brought strength to the reformers, and everyone will make a try as the notes thunder out, "A mighty fortress is our God." Wesley's brief rules for congregational singing might well be commended to every congregation to-day. "1. Sing *all*. 2. Sing *lustily* and with good courage. 3. Sing *modestly*. Do not bawl so as to be

heard above or distinct from the congregation. 4. Sing *in time.* 5. Above all, sing *spiritually.*"

Is a choir a good thing? It depends on the choir. There are three things that will justify a choir. First, a choir is vindicated if it helps secure good congregational singing. If a choir does not do this, better not have it. Second, a choir is justified if it aids directly in the worship. The anthem must be more than a mere performance; it must lift the thoughts above the millinery to the skies, and turn them away from the dress to the hearer's own inner life. Third, last, and *least,* a choir is vindicated if it make the service attractive. Especially amid the temptations of the city, where for selfish reasons the world caters to the love of the beautiful and ennobling, the church cannot be behind in making the service attractive. But this purpose standing alone is not a safe guide for the embellishment of the service. We sometimes forget that we possess a power of attraction that the world has not. The church cannot hope to cope with the grand opera in the production of music in itself, nor should it make the attempt. The function of the church is to produce truly worshipful music. This test of attractiveness should be secondary to the other two tests, which should never be sacrificed to anyone's notion of attractiveness. After all, true worship draws the best, and music which contributes to worship will be the most permanently attractive. What is necessary in order to have such a choir? First of all, a devout and capable leader, a good musician, but more, a consecrated man. One such has been a leader of the choir in a city church for more than twenty-five years. He has been with the society from the time it was a struggling child until it now ranks as one of the largest in the denomination. He is a member of the church and interested in all her work. In the preaching service, in prayer and revival meetings he is a power with the music. It is the testimony of those who know his work that his contribution to the effectiveness of that church is greater than that of any one pastor they have had. May his like increase! A second essential is Christian singers. The choir box and the organ stool should be dedicated to the occupancy of none others. Experience is back of the contention that the poorest way to make a Christian of an unconverted man is to give

him a position in the church, either in the board of trustees or the choir box. A third essential is a wise selection of music. No rule can supply the place of common sense, and if the Lord has not given the leader what the lamented Dr. Upham called "the fourth blessing," the case is hopeless.[1] There is a simple test by which all vocal selections may be judged. That is a good selection which leaves the message of the words in your mind and warms your heart to respond to that message. The words form the jewel. The music is the setting. The jewel must be worth while, and the setting must reveal and utilize all the latent beauties and potencies. Most choir music is bad. We endure a great deal in patience because of the good selections we sometimes hear. Often the words seem to be the mere excuse for jumbling together strange musical combinations, and in rendition there is too much noise and not enough of that sweet melody and rich harmony, sung with true expression, which requires no special cultivation, but only a musical soul, to enjoy.

The same underlying principles should govern the use of solo music in the church service. There is something more essential than mere musical excellence. Given a reasonably good voice, the next most important thing is the spirit of the singer. The earnest, simple, devoted Sankey is more acceptable and serviceable than the trained opera singer who airs her immoralities in the divorce court. Music, real music, is spiritual. By it one soul speaks to another. Sacred music has as its theme the deepest, the loftiest, the holiest thoughts and emotions of life. To the candidate for a position in the choir loft may well be addressed the words of Horace to the poets, "If you wish to touch my heart, you must begin by showing me that you have touched your own." The next most important thing is a grasp of the message, an intelligent understanding of the poet and the composer. The third essential is a clear enunciation. It would be just as edifying to sing before an American congre-

[1] We will agree that John Wesley was a little extreme on this point, and yet we have often been compelled to sympathize with his criticism of the fugue in his remarks upon the oratorio Judith which he heard performed at Lock in 1764: "Some parts of it were exceeding fine; but there are two things in modern music which I could never reconcile to common sense. One is, singing the same words ten times over; the other, singing different words by different persons, at one and the same time. And this in the most solemn addresses to God whether by way of prayer or thanksgiving. This can never be defended by all the musicians in Europe, till reason is quite out of date."

gation in Hongkong Chinese as to so butcher the words of a song that the hearers cannot understand. The singer must be allowed some liberties with pronunciation in order to accommodate the words to proper vocalization, but the permissible limit is passed when the least trained auditor fails to understand. To preach, read, or sing anything in Christian worship that cannot be understood is an abomination and sin. Last of all comes the vocal art, applied specifically to vocalization. Do not misunderstand. No training is too fine for the worship of God. But given a good voice, intelligence, and good enunciation, then simple naturalness is more pleasing than the finest art, so called, without these characteristics. The truth is, however, that the former *is* the higher art, and that the true art of singing is exemplified in this total analysis.

A good organist is one of God's best gifts to a modern church. A poor organist can spoil everything and dispel all symptoms of true worship. If the organist is at once a real musician and a lover of God, and has a reasonable gift of common sense, he will need no rules to make him invaluable to the proper conduct of worship. This organist, in his unselfishness, does not consider church worship an opportunity to display his talent. He never drowns the congregation with the volume of sound from his instrument. He skillfully leads the congregational singing and helps interpret the spirit of the song. He is eager to grasp the soloist's interpretation and support the voice and make his part an accompaniment and not another solo. There is always a devotional and worshipful character to his prelude and offertory, and on communion Sunday his music is touched with the sweet sorrow of the Last Supper and Gethsemane and Calvary. Seldom does anyone think to thank him, so unobtrusive is his work, but he tones up the entire service.

Perhaps we can make clearer some abuses by a brief enumeration. It is an abuse of music in worship to use unfit or unpoetical words, equally so to employ poor tunes, and just as bad to join words and music not adapted to each other. It is also an abuse, little short of criminal, to divorce words and music of some hymns which have become a part of the life of the church, and to force either into another marriage. There is only one tune for "Abide with me," "Lead, Kindly Light," "Nearer, my God, to Thee," "Just as I am,"

or "Jesus, Lover of my Soul." O, makers of hymn books, leave some things alone! It is an abuse to surrender to the rag-time type. The great hymns are needed nowhere more than in our Sunday schools, where it should be impossible for a scholar to spend a year without becoming acquainted with the fifty greatest hymns. But it is an equal abuse to attempt to limit the Sunday school to the staid and stately hymns. Songs for young people must have some "go" in them, and a little more "go" would not injure the church hymnal. Adaptability to age and use must play a larger part in our choices. We need a better hymnology for child life, which the kindergarten is now partially supplying. The gospel song has vindicated itself by results. We must recognize its place, though seeking to prevent its abuse by improving its quality and eliminating that which offends. It is an abuse to sing for the purpose of changing the air or taking a collection. It is just as sensible for the preacher to announce his text while the coins are rattling, as for the soloist or choir, or even the congregation, to sing. It is an abuse to introduce organ music that is not devotional. Two abuses, which seem small, are common to many organists. We refer to the custom of striking the note with which the melody begins at the opening of each verse, just before the people begin to sing. This is very disagreeable, entirely unnecessary, undesirable and inexcusable. Equally bad is the practice of holding the bass note of the last chord long after all other sounds have ceased. It is much better to stop short with the end of the measure, or to hold the last chord softly for a moment after the singing has ceased.

To all who have part in the music of worship we commend the rule of the sweet-spirited Sankey: "I never touch a song that does not speak to me in every word and phrase. Before I sing I must feel, and the hymn must be of such a kind that I know I can send home what I feel."

Staley F. Davis

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

RICHARD WATSON GILDER ON IDEALS OF LIFE[1]

THE SUBJECT DEFINED

THE idea of preaching ideals to idealists like these girls! I hear some of you—think. Why, they are running over with ideals; they are idealists all; even more, they are to one another, and to many others, themselves embodied ideals, and this hour is the very crest and culmination of all their exquisite idealism. It is like laying a duty upon birds and poets to sing, brooks to babble, dreamers to dream.

True enough—gloriously true! But my hope is to say a clinging word that may be of service in that possible future, when these bright ideals may, some of them, get to be dim, ineffective, and dispensable—a bit house-worn, perhaps; and furthermore, to insist upon certain specific ideals of special necessity among our people and in our time.

The dictionaries do not always furnish us with just what we want when we go to them for definition, but I have been fortunate in finding the desired shades of meaning for my title word, namely, *Ideal,* "an imaginary object or individual in which an idea is conceived to be completely realized, hence a standard or model of perfection, as the ideal of beauty, virtue, etc."; again, "a standard of desire, an ultimate object or aim, a mental conception of what is most desirable." I am not to speak of ideals of art or beauty—not of æsthetic ideals or educational ideals, but of ideals of life.

Ideals of life may be separated into several kinds—one implying conscious or unconscious emulation of some one individual or career, or of a group of individuals, historical or contemporaneous. This may even descend to imitation of appearance—dress, cut of hair, tricks of manner. Approaching this sort of ideal is the image of one's self projected imaginatively before the mind's eye and imaginatively existing in certain desired conditions or with certain traits and powers. In the first case one flatters another by imitation; in the second case one tries to live up to a conception of a more interesting, more successful, more useful, more admirable, in fact, a better self. Again,

[1] A Commencement Address delivered at Wellesley College by R. W. Gilder, whose intention was to send it, after delivery, as a free gift to the METHODIST REVIEW. Circumstances having prevented the carrying out of his desire at the time, we now fulfill his wish by putting it upon our pages as a grateful memorial of his friendship for this REVIEW.

we cherish ideals of moral qualities, ideals of duty, industry, good manners, good behavior, pluck, and what not, gathered from various sources.

Life's ideals, you see, may be real or imaginary persons, or groups of persons, that is, composites; or they may be attributes, detached virtues or accomplishments. These various ideals interblend, but always they serve as standards, low or high, according to our intellectual and moral culture or native virtue.

NO ESCAPE FROM IDEALS

Those are, of course, mistaken who take it that the ideal has only to do with the purely impracticable, to be something entirely outside of life. The misconception comes from adhering to a definition of the word which is legitimate enough, and refers to something which exists only in idea, something, perhaps, which is fanciful, unattainable. They give a moral significance to the term, and they take a dubious and cynical attitude. But we are using the term more broadly, and, in the broad sense, it is clearly demonstrable that the everyday life of every man, woman, and child is dominated by his or her ideals. It must be a less than human stupidity in the person, or an absolute deadening by routine, that utterly eliminates the influence of standards of ideals from any life. Take the dullest individuals known to you, leading the most monotonous possible existences, and see whether their treadmill days are utterly lacking in influences from fixed ideals. One way in which you may test this is to run counter to the convention of the locality, or the social or religious group, and then find out what a figure you cut in the eyes of the narrowest and heaviest spirits in the whole community. You are likely to discover that these have very definite aims and ideals; their ideals may be small, even sensual, base; they may be what you call superstitious, yet some of these ideals may be, also, in their way admirable.

The Russian peasants seem a stolid lot; think of the tragedy of the late coronation, where in a panic-stricken crowd they perished like poor, stupid sheep. But some, at least, of their ideals are of a kind that poets praise. I thought so when I saw, at Jerusalem, the Russian pilgrims awaiting for days and days the fraudulent miracle of the holy fire at the so-called Tomb of Christ. It was a pitiful sight when one remembered the long, hard journey—and the strenuous desire to lay hold of a less burdensome life in another state of existence; but it was a spectacle not without color of ideality, in the uplifting sense.

The prophet, the sensualist, the miser, the benefactor, the reformer, and the poor fellow with a brain incapable of carrying a great thought without an errant gait, whom we call crank or fanatic—all these have their ideals, and are striving, indolently or forthrightly, to attain them. It is the ideal of many youths to be prize fighters, pickpockets, or all 'round crooks. Not long ago, at Hampton, I heard a colored man tell with pleasing frankness of the change that had come in his own ideals of life. His essay was named "A Changed Ideal." His young ambition had been to attain to be an "extra good middleweight prize fighter," that his name might "go whirling around the world in the newspapers." His second, and present, ambition was to be a well-trained farmer. His life and his ideals changed together, as do yours and mine. The thief has his ideal of honor—even if this is modified by his profession, still he strives to live up to his ideal, and judges his fellows accordingly. The statesman who partitions or steals whole countries has, too, his ideals of modified honor, as shown by Talleyrand's self-reported reproof of Napoleon for cheating in the game, in reference to the scandalous manner of his dealing with unfortunate Spain. If, then, we all have ideals, and these are forever influencing us, it is a gravely practical matter, this question we are discussing to-day.

WHAT IDEALS SHOULD BE

One very desirable thing about ideals is that they should be precise. He is fortunate who early in life attains a definite ideal as to his future. It is a powerful element of success. If you read the confessions of successful men and women, you will, not always but very often, find that their efforts were inspired by a definite image of what they wished to become. This one aim they struggled toward all their years, in due course of time accomplishing the great result. He or she was determined to be like this or that artist, writer, statesman, soldier, philanthropist—and approached, equaled, or surpassed the inspiring original.

But definiteness of this kind is not the most important thing in relation to the ideals that are to influence our careers, be these careers public or private. The most determined nature is often deflected from its aims, but if it is governed by ideals of industry, of honor, of courage, of high attainment in whatever is undertaken, the man will find his place at whatever altitude circumstances make possible; and the world will be better for his having stepped into it for a while and done his part bravely.

"WHEN HALF-GODS GO, THE GODS ARRIVE"

Many a man and woman smiles in after years at the small proportions and narrow bounds of first ideals as to things to be accomplished in a career, but he or she is none the less glad that these ambitions were enthusiastically cherished.

When half-gods go,
The gods arrive.

Sometimes, on the other hand, is the faithful ideal not only exalted, but so enormous, so magnificent, so tainted with sentimentality and unreality, that it is absolutely unattainable. Nevertheless, it has lifted hours that might have been sordid and depressed into the glow of imagination and hope; it has been the inspiration of monotonous labor; it has led, in due course, to the creation and realization of ambitions right and attainable.

IDEALS THAT ARE THRUST UPON US

There are certain ideals which come to us as an effect of that mysterious element which we call public opinion, and there are others that are ours through accident or training. The tone that we take from our surroundings is very subtle in its formation and very hard for any of us to escape. Most people "go with the crowd." It is a tremendously important part of all culture, then, and all education to put up a dam against the inundation of contiguous opinion. Nothing is harder to avoid than such overflow, and very few do avoid it. In other words, one great object of education is to bring to the intelligence a variety of information and of opinion from various worth-while quarters and points of view, so that there will be in the mind of the educated person a supply of materials that will serve in constructing the necessary barriers against a rush of popular emotion, or against some craze of the circumjacent crowd.

FORMING ONE'S OWN IDEALS

Students in schools and colleges are taught to think for themselves; to form their own ideals. More than this, there is an attempt in every institution of learning, from the kindergarten up, to send students into the world with a stock of ideals so admirable and compelling that they will keep them on the straight path as long as they live. There is nothing more valuable to the life of the community than the reaction upon popular sentiment of minds that, through education, have attained a certain amount of independence and power of resistance, and which are thus capable of influencing, and even at

times of forming, that public opinion upon which all government and all society are based.

To sum up what has gone before: It is not so important that the ideals of our lives should be minutely exact, as that they should be of a kind that may apply to all circumstances. It is more to the point that we should measure ourselves morally with some fine character which we enthusiastically admire, than that we should say, "I will be a teacher like this one or that, a preacher, a poet, a publicist, orator," or what not. It is a good thing to have definite ideals; it is a better thing that one's ideals should be of a nature that makes them serviceable in all the developments and emergencies of life, and it is the most vitally important thing of all that our ideals should be altogether noble.

WESLEY AND EMERSON

It would be interesting to speak of the two very notable idealists who were born, one of them just two centuries, the other one century, ago this summer. Wesley's was a life for pure strenuousness, matching, if not surpassing, any modern instance whatever, no matter how distinguished or picturesque, whether of Europe or America; a beautiful and ever-memorable life, whose enormous altruistic energy was inspired and guided by an ideal no less high than the image of the one Supreme Altruist himself: of him who, doing good, went up and down the ways of Palestine, as did his devoted disciple the roads and benighted byways of Great Britain. As for Emerson, it is something for you and me to know that this unique genius added new glory to the tongue we speak; that this great citizen loved and believed in our America; that this superb character, this world-prophet, made sacred the very time, the very country, in which we live; that we to greatness are not altogether alien, for close to our ears has sounded a voice from the eternal.

I have been thinking much lately of two women who not long since passed beyond the veil. One died in the fullness of years, the other in midcareer. One was a life almost entirely private: the other was one largely public. The lives of both were inspired and glorified from beginning to end by the noblest of ideals. I wish I could bring these two lives vividly before you, make you realize their golden ideality, and then say: "This is what I mean! Here is what I wish for each of you! Go out into life furnished like them—not necessarily with definite ambitions, though that is well, but with something in your souls that will be the splendid and unforgotten standard of every

action and desire! Take hold of daily life in the same unrelinquished spirit of purity, of service, of serene faith in divinest things!"

SARAH BLAKE SHAW

Herself unpublic and unobtrusive, one of these women was, in her family relations, the center of a group of remarkable men and women. Not even her husband, while known as a philanthropist, was of the class of men prominently "public." With all his reserve he was a man of such sterling character, and one having so deeply at heart all matters of good citizenship, that he was classed with those of our merchants who could always be counted upon in the cause of civic righteousness; his means and his counsel ever, in war and peace, at the disposal of those who were in the thick of public endeavor; more than this, his personal taste and cultivation were actively exercised in furthering worthy movements in the pioneer days of reform in the last century. Well matched, indeed, this fortunate couple, in moral and intellectual attributes and enthusiasms.

The names of those near to them by birth or marriage are a roll-call of honor—Lowell, the patriot-poet; Curtis, the civic knight without fear or reproach; Barlow and young Lowell, the intrepid soldiers; Minturn, the good citizen; that daughter, whose lifetime of devotion to the poor has enshrined her in the hearts of the people of a mighty city; that son, whose great monument on Beacon Hill was not needed to keep in remembrance one of the truest heroes that ever went solemnly to a sacrificial death. Others, too, I could name in the immediate circle who, even to the third generation, were and are among our men and women of force, of good-will and wise philanthropy.

With her the virtues of citizenship were not an acquiescence, but a passion. Graciously helpful to individual distress; giving out affection and hope tenderly and freely from her own generous stores, her sympathies covered countries and races. There was no endeavor of patriotism that she did not befriend. She inspired the inspirers. In the sacred privacy of her hearth and home men and women breathed the very air of heroism. To her the republic was like a mother beloved, whose pure fame must not be breathed upon—whose error, if error there was, could only be a passing aberration; who *must* be generous, righteous, noble. Let it not be forgotten of her that she loved music—and helped to bring its rest and benediction to the masses of the people: for she could enjoy selfishly no good thing in life. To her life was indeed ideal.

ALICE FREEMAN PALMER

Of the other woman scarcely do I dare speak in these halls, where her memory and tradition are like a living presence. Here was a life in industry and energy marvelous and undaunted, dedicated to large and ever larger uses, and inspired from first to last by the loftiest ideality. Deeply she felt the impulse and clearly she saw the object of her labor—in her self, surrender and service; for others, the lifting of the mind and soul through the truest methods of education to the highest possible levels. Few can hope to match her exceptional accomplishment; but her spirit—her spirit is here to-day, an ennobling and beckoning ideal in the hearts of teachers and students and all who cherish the beautiful memory of Alice Freeman Palmer. Judgment, tact, opportunity were hers, knowledge and experience, sympathy and affection, but above all was the inspiration of the unseen. Always she seemed to hear in the air above her, and ever follow, with bright and perfect confidence, the rustling wings of the angel of the ideal.

IDEAL OF THE HOME

To leave on one side the attractive contemplation of ideality as illustrated in personality, let us now consider certain of the ideals which need to be upheld very especially in our own day and among our own people. Naturally, speaking to women, the thought uppermost is that of "home"—yes, the "institution" of marriage, the "institution" of home. It used to be that nothing more hopelessly, forlornly trite could be put forward on an occasion like this. The singular thing about it is that there has of late come into practical effect a notion on this subject which makes the very theme such an immediate and burning question that, I give you my word, in the town where I live no one dare mention it, radically, if there is a single person present the details of whose social antecedents are not known! And, in fact, I am somewhat sensitive about bringing it here and now to your attention, for one never knows when—against the social amenities—blood may be drawn by a stroke in the dark. In a play by Brander Matthews, one of the characters says that divorce will never be as popular among women as marriage until it includes music and flowers. (There, I did not mean to mention the hateful word!) But I remember that the play is already an old one. Helen Hunt used to say that she considered some things settled—and that marriage and the home were among these things; but that poet and idealist went from among us these many sad years ago. I cannot bring myself to

multiplying words on a theme like this, in a presence such as this, but can anyone say that there is not a practical side to ideality, when the lack of a high ideal has broken up so many homes, has made so many orphans, has dragged down in so many minds and in so many lives that state which should be the noblest in the existence of humanity; that should have allied to it such a sense and standard of mutual forbearance, of mutual service, of self-control, of dignity, of consecration?

IDEAL OF THE STATE

Another theme that has long seemed irreclaimably trite is that of the virtuous commonwealth—the ideal of philosophers in all ages. We, in America, once well-nigh assumed that the centuries had reserved for us and for our children this immemorial aim and desire of the good and wise. To-day we scarcely dare to open the morning paper for dread of the revelations that may stare us in the face of new and even more hideous civic corruption. In one city government after another, and in State after State, even up to the administration of the general government, scandal follows scandal, till one is in danger of growing morbid and disheartened at the blackmail, bribery, and partnership with crime—so often do our city governments exhibit, not honest men united in public service, but dishonest men united in public plunder; so often do political candidates emerge into the senatorial chamber of the world's chief republic, bearing not the laurels of honorable victory, but the odor of notorious crime; crime of the very kind that demoralizes citizenship, and, if unchecked, would destroy the nation itself! We must not forget that these very revelations are signs and incidents of the fight against corruption; and one must never despair of the republic. Neither must one evade the truth, lest the evil increase. The evil is not merely political and governmental; it goes deeper—often into methods of business and finance, sometimes into the relations between capital and labor, frequently into the relations between men of affairs and the professional political manipulators. There is a pitiful, an unpatriotic lack of scruple on the part of men who, while protecting property from the attacks of demagogues and adventurers in office, might be thought able themselves to resist the temptation of corrupt practices.

PERSONAL APPLICATION

As few, if any, of you expect to have the opportunity of voting at elections, you may think that much of this is rather remote from your probable activities. You will find that it is not. When you go out from this college into the community you will discover that women

who neither vote nor wish to vote are directly assisting very effectively in political reforms of a local or national character throughout the country. Especially are they promoting to-day the pressing cause of civil service reform, and I do truly hope you may each be able to lend a helping hand. Yet it is not necessary to urge you into any path other than that which you anticipate. You will be doing a good work for the state and for society if you follow your professional, or your private, household lives—in the spirit that has been a part of the direct and indirect teaching of this institution of learning, to each of you so dear. You will be helping the honest citizenship of America if, even without specific work for public political reform, you simply maintain and exalt, and are never, never ashamed of your youthful ideals of honor, of honesty, and of moral courage.

Soon enough the question of political or financial scruple will be brought home to each of you—most likely through the best that is in you, through your friendly interest and natural affections. It may even be revealed to you that your own tacit demands are working havoc in the conscience of some one near to you, making it hard for him to refuse a usual acquiescence in some sort of rascality, in order that your comfort or your luxury may not be endangered.

You will not only be an influence for good or evil in the contacts of family and society but you, with your culture, will have peculiar power in the formation of that public opinion which regulates government and life. What shall be your part in giving tone to your own home and to your own community? Will this not depend upon whether or not your own better ideals are kept bright and evident?

WHAT MEAN THE RUG AND THE PICTURE?

The envy of wealth and worldly success—what is more degrading? But who can keep, in entering a well-to-do household, from the unuttered query, What has been the price of this abundance? Has anything other than intense industry and application, unusual ability and opportunity, been paid for these possessions? Has honor been surrendered? Has tacit compliance with business or political crookedness been the price? Is the possession of these goods guaranteed by a life which, in days of heroic moral conflict, basely abstains from all effort toward better things? Is this gorgeous rug a sign that the head of the house has got rich by bribing legislators? Is that costly painting not merely a proof of æsthetic taste, but of moral callousness, in keeping silent while a partner or associate trustee made a

corrupt deal? In a word, is this fortune built upon hard work, ingenuity, and high principle, or upon unscrupulous greed? Is its possessor assuaging his conscience by philanthropical subscriptions, while knowing himself to be a coward and deserter—a miserable "quitter"—in the battle that men and women of honor and patriotism and moral bravery are waging all over this country in the cause of decency and good government?

Imagine yourself the woman of that house. How will you meet your responsibility? What will be your moral attitude? I wish I could make you feel how grave the situation is in our land to-day. Truly there is an emergency; there must be a revival of civic righteousness—a definite movement—and, directly or indirectly, every one of you can be of very real assistance.

There will be ideals in that house of yours. Will the nobler ideals be wrapped up and laid away, with a little pang of regret, or smile of superiority, and the dim remembrance of a prosy graduation address how many years ago? Or will they be living, present and radiant, and full of the good old-fashioned "power of salvation"?

A TEXT FROM ST. GAUDENS

I spoke of the monument to Colonel Shaw in Boston. I was staying across the lake yonder at the time of its unveiling, and went up from here to see the ceremony. It was a significant, a touching occasion. Particularly interesting it all was to me, for I had seen the work grow year by year under the hand of the patient master—our great sculptor, St. Gaudens—striving in his conscientious way to realize his own high ideal. What a thrilling monument it is! When sculpture such as this, and the glorious Sherman just unveiled in New York, are erected in public places, our cities are beginning to possess something of the artistic interest of the old Italian towns. You know the "Shaw" well. In these my closing words, let me recall its features to your memories, and let me be so bold as to ask you to associate this monument with the thought I have tried to impress upon you to-day. Remember the swing of the sable soldiery, with the cheerful faces of their race kindled into new determination; remember the slanting, decorative lines of the guns; remember the sensitive, exquisite, resolute, devoted countenance of the young hero riding to his doom; remember the action, the tremendous urge; and over all, hovering in the air, the woman's form—the Ideal, eternally leading, eternally uplifting, eternally inspiring.

THE ARENA

BISHOPS IN THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

A CAREFULLY studied and interesting article was that by Dr. R. T. Miller in the January-February number of the REVIEW. Almost was I convinced that the bishops are members of the General Conference. But the article was a little loose in its discrimination at two points and one of these affected its main contention. If I rightly apprehended Dr. Miller's argument, it was to this effect: The bishops were originally members of the General Conference by virtue of their ministerial standing. This with all its rights they retained and carried over into the episcopal office. These rights were not taken away by the legislation which made the General Conference a representative body; the bishops still held all their rights as ministers. Further, all their rights and powers as bishops were retained to them by the restrictive rule which inhibits the General Conference from any act which would "do away episcopacy or destroy the plan of our itinerant general superintendency." Therefore the bishops are still possessed of all the powers originally held by them and are still members of the General Conference.

The flaw in this argument is that it fails to discriminate between the special rights of the bishops by virtue of their office as bishops, and the rights which they possessed in common with other ministers by virtue of their membership in the body of the ministry. Prior to 1812 they were members of the General Conference, not because they were bishops, but because they were duly qualified ministers. Since this right did not come to them as bishops, but was theirs before their elevation to the episcopacy, and would have remained theirs had they resigned the episcopal office, it formed no part of episcopacy, as such, or of the plan of the itinerant general superintendency and was not within the scope of the third restrictive rule.

If the bishops still retain their right to membership in the General Conference, they hold that right as ministers and not as bishops. They hold it in common with their brethren in the ministry and under the same conditions and limitations. These limitations are those which have been imposed and accepted by the whole ministerial body, of which body the bishops are members, and by whose acts they are bound. These limitations include primarily all those imposed by the General Conference of 1808, and equally all that have since been adopted in the manner legally prescribed. Under these limitations no minister may be a member of the General Conference until he has been legally elected thereto, and is legally eligible to a seat. As the law now stands bishops are not eligible to seats in the General Conference, because they are not members of Annual Conferences. The Constitution provides in Article II., Section 2 that ministerial delegates "shall be elders, at least twenty-five years of age, and shall have been members of an Annual Conference four successive years,

and at the time of their election and at the time of the session of the General Conference shall be members of the Annual Conference which elected them."

The article also seems to imply that the "full power to make rules and regulations" granted the General Conference is a limitation of the powers of that body in addition to the limitations contained in the Restrictive Rules. Whether or not this is so must be ascertained by an investigation of the law as it is. It would seem to be a self-evident proposition that the church has within itself, in its own Constitution and laws, full and complete power for its own government. All the powers and processes by which the church as now constituted may govern itself are contained in the Discipline. No extra-disciplinary process can be allowed to have any force or authority whatsoever. The Discipline knows only two processes of legislation—one by majority vote of the General Conference; the other, the so-called constitutional process, requiring a concurrent vote of two thirds of the General Conference, two thirds of the Annual Conferences present and voting, and two thirds of the Lay Electoral Conferences present and voting. In such a distribution of powers it is evident that one class must be specific and precise, including only those powers which are definitely and expressly stated, and the other must be general, including all powers not distinctly and specifically reserved. It would scarcely be possible to assign all powers in express and definite terms. Such a process would be a little like charting the universe. We never could be quite sure that some matters had not been omitted. These two methods, then—the majority vote of the General Conference and the constitutional process—include all the legislative power and authority of the church. The constitutional process by the specific terms of the Constitution itself applies only to the matters expressly reserved originally to the church as represented in the ministry and now to the church as represented in the Annual and Electoral Conferences. The general grant of power must of necessity include all matters not expressly reserved. This is the real scope of "full power to make rules and regulations." What kind of legislation that must be which neither rules nor regulates anything is exceedingly obscure.

Jos. W. Van Cleve.

Champaign, Ill.

ANSWERS TO PRAYER FOR TEMPORAL THINGS

We met late in life, my friend and I, and she knew that her own personal experiences had much interest for me. Her father had died lingeringly, just as she left school. Her mother dragged out a living death from paralysis, while she worked to keep up the home, give her mother all that she needed of care, and educate a young brother and sister. Their home was in a large eastern city. Her energy and business capacity had placed her as owner of a restaurant, with over forty waiters, and a large business to superintend. After a long engagement the man of her choice urged her to sell out and marry. She was determined to begin married life with a long honeymoon for change and rest, so as to restore

his health. The business must be sold, and she must have cash payment in order to accomplish this. She made it a subject of earnest prayer. Her ad. appeared in the principal paper, and she asked God that he would send the right person. The landlord, whose lease she had held, must approve of the purchaser. Three answers came to the ad. She took the first (the most promising to her eyes) to the owner. He knew the writer, and that his waiters were not the quiet, orderly set that hers were. So he refused him. She brought the next best, as she thought. The landlord recognized him as a man who would bring guests of uncertain character around him. He turned him down. Her faith never wavered that it would be all right in the end. The third man answering was accepted at once. He paid her the cash down, which enabled them to start on their travels west. Her husband's health was reëstablished, and he went into business in one of the beautiful "mushroom cities" of the Pacific slope. However, business reasons obliged them to move to another of these new cities. The pleasant home they had built had to be sold. She had prayed the "prayer of faith" that a path might be opened to them, and now she asked, as before, that a purchaser who would pay them in cash should be provided them, so as to meet without debt the inevitable expenses before them. The real estate men said that it was an impossibility, that she could never get it. She still believed that she could and would with the help of God. So she wrote out an ad. asking the heavenly Father to prompt the writing of it, that nothing be omitted that was wanted to attract a purchaser. She took infinite pains with the composition. A lady owning a large wheat farm in the neighborhood allowed no grass to grow under her feet before coming in to see the "pleasant home," the description of which had so attracted her. Everything satisfied her. The cash payment was made, which enabled my friends to make the change in comfort, leaving no debts behind them. "Surely an answer to the prayer of faith," said my friend. I added, "As surely as that the steps of a good man (or woman) are ordered, that is, arranged for, by the Lord!"

Louisa A'hmuty Nash.

Nashville, Oregon.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

SERMONIC LITERATURE

The sermon is not generally considered as a part of our literature, and yet there is no adequate reason why it should be excluded. Within a recent period, however, the Bible, as literature, has received a new impetus, and the writings of the Old Testament and the New have taken their place among the literary productions of the world. There is the further fact that the sermon based on the Holy Scriptures has its literary side as well. It is not intended to appeal so much to the æsthetic faculty as to the religious and moral faculty, and yet it has its relation to all the powers of man.

Sermonic literature has hitherto in our own country not attained the prominence which it has secured in some European countries. Anyone who reads the writings of such distinguished scholars as Dr. Vaughan, at one time Master of the Temple in London, Dr. Lightfoot, Dr. Westcott, Dr. Liddon, will find that much of the work by which they became known was their sermons. The writer of this has noticed on the tables of the bookstores in Germany sermons which have been recently preached and which have been placed there for general circulation. Of course special occasions of a religious character will always more or less call for sermonic literature. This was manifest in the recent Calvin celebration in Geneva. Throughout Germany and the Reformed Churches of France and Switzerland, sermons were delivered which have become a part of the religious literature of these countries. The preachers of former times left a sermonic literature of great value: Butler's sermons are almost as well known as his Analogy; Southey's sermons have been for many years a mine in which ministers were accustomed to delve; Barrow's sermons, with their endless subdivisions, have been preserved in literature. In recent times Beecher's sermons have had a wide circulation and are still vigorous. Spurgeon's sermons had an enormous sale during his life, and we are told that they have still a large reading. The sermons of Horace Bushnell have been as widely read as his other writings, which is saying a great deal. To all appearances, there seems to be a revival of sermonic literature in our own country, for which we should be grateful.

There are several reasons why the spread of sermonic literature is important. The sermon is, or should be, the finest product of the intellect and heart. There is no kind of discourse which involves more qualities of the highest kind than the sermon. A specialist on some particular line may write a book in his own department containing the latest results of investigation. He deals in facts of a scientific character open to observation and physical experiment. The subject of the sermon is the highest subject that can engage the attention of man; it has to do with God and man, with duty and destiny; it must have visions of the future, and apply the teachings of the gospel to the details of human life. It involves the

ology, metaphysics, psychology, the everyday life of man. It touches time and eternity. The subjects of which it treats are as broad as humanity. The highest thought and richest experience and the profoundest scholarship have their fitting place in the sermon. The sermon should be circulated, for it ought to represent the best that there is in the world. It is no argument against this view that apparently so many do not have this high estimate, and sometimes ministers preach in a perfunctory way without the full devotion of all their powers. There are sermons, however, which for the time sway communities and have been remembered for generations. President Edwards's sermon on the text, "Their foot shall slide in due time," is historic; the topic was "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God"; and Chalmers's great sermon on "The Expulsive Power of a New Affection" stirred the nation. Many sermons in these days are well worthy to be recognized in the literary life of the world.

Sermonic literature should be widely spread because sermons are for all people and rarely represent sectarian aspects of truth. As a rule, in these modern days sermons are not controversial. It is common for preachers of the various denominations to exchange pulpits. It would be manifestly a breach of courtesy for a pastor to go into another pulpit and preach doctrines out of harmony with the position which he is called to fill. Very few ministers need to change a single thing in their sermons in order to preach acceptably to any evangelical congregation. The great fundamental truths of all branches of the Christian Church are common to all. The familiarity of the people with the sermons of the ministers of other churches will reveal how much they have in common.

Sermonic literature should be diffused also because the sermon is prepared for a practical purpose. Every sermon has, or should have, a purpose. This purpose is direct and immediate; it is either to instruct the mind, to stir the heart or to move the people to action, hence its application is wider than the particular audience to which it is addressed. The wide circulation of sermonic literature renders an important service to the unity of Christendom. The tastes of the people vary at different periods in history; sometimes we have a poetical period, when Tennyson and Browning, Wordsworth and Longfellow, and other masters of poetic form, attract the attention. Again we have the æsthetic period, when literary production gathers around the fine arts. But the sermon also has its period, and we think that period is now; both in England and America the output of sermonic literature is very great. Even the public press, recognizing the relation of religion to life, and noting the subjects on which people are thinking, gives a large space to the literature of the church, especially its sermonic literature.

ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

Matthew 6. 9-12. Our Lord now proceeds to give a form of prayer which may be called Christ's Universal Prayer. It has been repeated in every language where the knowledge of him has come; it has been on the lips of the wise man in his wisdom, of the suffering in his anguish, of the joyful in his hopes, of the poor in his poverty. It is a prayer so perfect

and complete that nothing has ever been added to it, and no one has been able to take anything from it without marring its perfection. There is no body of Christians where it is not known, and no service of the Church of Christ where it is not found welcome. It is introduced in the ninth verse of the sixth chapter of Matthew in the language, "After this manner therefore pray ye." It is not to be supposed that by "this manner" our Saviour means that his disciples are always to employ this precise language, and yet it was a form of prayer which they might use, and which has been used, all through the Christian centuries. Comparing it with the context, it would seem as if it might have been intended to be the expression in which our Lord chose to unite the church at the throne of the heavenly grace.

It is a remarkable fact that English versions of this prayer are so uniform. It may not be uninteresting to place before the readers the several great versions as they have come down to us:

WICLIF—1380.

Our father that art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come to; be thy will as done in heaven and in earth; give to us this day our bread or other substance, and forgive to us our debts, as we forgive to our debtors; and lead us not in to temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

TYNDALE—1534.

O our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Let thy kingdom come. Thy will be fulfilled, as well in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, even as we forgive our trespassers. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.

CRANMER—1539.

Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Let thy kingdom come. Thy will be fulfilled, as well in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.

GENEVA—1557

Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Let thy kingdom come. Thy will be done even in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, even as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever. Amen.

RHEIMS—1582

Our Father which art in heaven, sanctified be thy name. Let thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, in earth also. Give us to day our supersubstantial bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation. But deliver us from evil. Amen.

AUTHORIZED—1611

Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy Name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead

us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.

REVISED VERSION—1881

Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one*.

REVISED VERSION—1901

Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, so on earth. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from the evil *one*.

Any analysis of this prayer, beyond that in the prayer itself, is not proposed here. It involves, however, fundamental doctrines which lie at the root of these supplications: (1) "Our Father which art in heaven." The prayer begins with the precious name by which God is ever known to his people. It is an assertion of the Fatherhood of God—God the universal Father of all lands, all climes, all races. There is no one excluded from his fatherly care and there are none to whom he will not listen when men approach him in confidence and faith. (2) The second paragraph involves the holiness of God—"Hallowed be thy name." Of all the attributes of God the greatest and noblest is holiness. It is the supreme thought of the Old Testament and of the New concerning him. "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory." The holiness of God is essential to all true conceptions of Christian thought and all life; it is the central idea around which all thoughts of God must turn. (3) It affirms the reign of God—"Thy kingdom come." It is a prayer that his rule may fill the whole earth. The psalmist says: "The Lord reigneth; let the earth rejoice"; and again he says: "The Lord reigneth; let the people tremble." (4) It affirms that the will of God is the law of the universe—"Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven." When that will is done the triumph of the gospel will be complete. The will of God is the law of life, and the only law by which his human creatures are properly governed. (5) This beautiful prayer expresses the brotherhood of human need—"Give us this day our daily bread." It is the universal call of people for temporal support, although it may imply spiritual needs as well. Men are bound together in a common need for the supply of daily natural and spiritual food. This petition assumes God as the giver of both. It expresses (6), further, the gracious forgiveness of human sin and the condition without which it cannot be granted—"Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors." The Father heart will forgive us our sins, but it is accompanied with the law that we also must forgive the sins of others. (7) The thought of the next petition is the divine care of the Father for his children in the time of trial. It is a prayer not to abandon them to temptation; to preserve them from conditions of life which may lead them into temptation. (8) It is, further, a prayer for deliverance from evil. The Revised Versions render, "deliver

us from the evil one," with margin, "evil." The grand conclusion of the prayer as found in the majority of the earlier versions, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen," is omitted from the recent versions. It seems to the writer that it is still an open question whether the authority in its favor is not strong enough to warrant its retention. The marginal note of the Revised Version is worthy of consideration: "Many authorities, some ancient, but with variations, add, 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen.'"

It may be well to note some of the differences as well as some of the harmonies of these versions. The first sentence of the prayer is the same in all the versions with the exception of Tyndale's, which begins with "O our Father" instead of "Our Father," and the Rheims version, which substitutes "sanctified" for "hallowed." The next petition is in Wyclif, "Thy kingdom come to"; the subsequent versions down to the Authorized Version in 1611 have "let thy kingdom come." The version of Cranmer, in 1539, the Geneva version, and the Authorized Version are strikingly similar. The Rheims version of 1582 instead of "Give us this day our daily bread," which runs through nearly all versions, has "give us to-day our supersubstantial bread," after the Vulgate. It is further to be noted that the Wyclif version, the Rheims version, and the versions of 1881 and 1901 omit the last clause of the prayer, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory forever. Amen."

We note also a forcible change in the two more recent versions in the last clause of the petition, "And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." These versions render the last part, "As we also have forgiven our debtors." The ordinary rendering is "As we forgive our debtors," following the Greek of Textus Receptus. The rendering of the recent versions evidently intends to follow the more recent text and translate, "As we have forgiven our debtors." If the force of the aorist is strictly adhered to, instead of "have forgiven," as these versions put it, we should have "forgave," although the rendering of the aorist by the perfect is found often in all the revisions of the New Testament. One cannot in the examination of the translations of the Lord's Prayer fail to be impressed with the accuracy of those who from the beginning have rendered the Greek text into English. Comparing the Wyclif text of 1380 with the text of to-day, we are surprised at the accuracy with which this prayer was rendered then; and the text of Tyndale in 1534 with slight variations anticipates the text of the Authorized Version in 1611, and, except in the last clause, that of 1881 and 1901. No one can note these things without recognizing the providential guidance of the noble men who ventured their lives to place in the hands of the people the priceless treasure of the Word of God. The prayer has been so frequently expounded in commentary and homily and sermon that a detailed exposition is not called for; its general import is all that may be noted at this time.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

STUDENTS of the Bible, regardless of denomination or country, will be pleased to learn that the Church of Rome has just opened a Biblical Institute, which promises great things in the realm of biblical research and advanced study of Holy Writ. This is the more interesting, since during the past few years American Protestants, especially, have been gradually discounting a thorough study of the Bible in the original languages. Much twaddle has recently appeared in our religious press from men not entitled to speak on the subject about the advisability of making Hebrew, if not Greek also, elective in our theological seminaries. If we are correctly informed, this has been done in some places, such is the competition for students! It is, therefore, refreshing to see Rome, while her Protestant sisters seem to retrograde, taking an advanced step by the establishment in A. D. 1909 of an Institute endowed with every facility for a thorough study of the Holy Scriptures. Let us not be misunderstood; we do not intimate that Rome is in advance or even on a par with the Protestant world in opportunities for work of this kind. We simply call attention to the present condition of things in the two branches of the Christian Church.

This step of Rome is significant. It points very clearly to the fact that the Catholic Church in the future will meet the destructive critics on their own grounds and will not allow the best biblical learning to be in the hands of the rationalists. It is also hoped that our Protestant young ministers will become more and more and not less proficient in all that pertains to a thorough study of the Old as well as the New Testament. Information regarding this new Institute is given in the *Acta Pontifici Instituti Biblici*, which, like all official documents of the Roman Church, is published in Latin. The *Acta* corresponds to the bulletin or announcements of our colleges and seminaries. It is to be issued periodically as occasion may require.

We reproduce in full this first official bulletin of the Institute[1], which is as follows:

ACTA OF THE PONTIFICAL BIBLICAL INSTITUTE

GENERAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

1. *Location of the Institute.* The headquarters of the Institute have been established temporarily at the Pontifical Leonine College, near Saint Joachim's Church, where rooms for lectures and conferences (recitations), as well as for the library, will be ready at the beginning of next November (1909).

2. *Conditions of Admission.* Those desiring to pursue the studies of the Institute must send their names in writing to the president, stating (1) the diocese, the religious order or congregation to which they belong; (2) their place of birth and present residence; (3) the sacred order to which they have

[1] Anyone desiring the Latin original will find it in the December (1909) issue of the American Ecclesiastical Review, Philadelphia, a very ably edited Catholic monthly.

been ordained, with place and date of ordination; (4) their academical degrees, if any, with place and date of their graduation.

According to the rules governing the Institute *alumni* must be Doctors in Sacred Theology and must have completed the course in scholastic philosophy. These only are, properly speaking, students of the Institute; those who have finished the regular course in philosophy and theology may be enrolled as *auditores* (hearers); the *hospites* (guests) may be admitted to the lectures simply as guests without any conditions.

Every applicant for admission must inform the president whether he wishes to enroll in the list of *alumni*, *auditores*, or *hospites*, and upon reaching Rome must present to the president the original certificate of having finished his theological and philosophical studies, as well as the certificate of the theological degree which he may have won. Moreover, he must bring authentic documents by which the ecclesiastical authorities may ascertain that he comes with the consent and permission of the ordinary (bishop) or the superior of his community, and that the faculties for performing sacred functions have been legitimately granted to him.

Students intending to prepare themselves for the examinations before the Pontifical Biblical Institute for the degree of Licentiate (*prolytatus*) are admitted on condition that they attend all lectures and exercises, regularly, unless specially or legitimately dispensed. The studies marked * in the subjoined program are obligatory. None except *alumni* are admitted to the conferences or practical exercises marked † unless it be those who are qualified to lend therein an active coöperation.

No fee will be charged for enrolling, class work, or use of the library.

All students of the Institute, whether *alumni*, *auditores*, or *hospites*, may suit their own convenience as to board and lodgings in the various colleges or religious houses of the city, as the Institute is not concerned in such things.

3. *Distribution of Studies.* In conformity with the rules of the Institute the subject-matter (*materia*) of the studies is chiefly that required by the Pontifical Bible Commission for the conferring of academical degrees. To these will be added the pursuit of other subjects which may lead to a more extensive knowledge of biblical science in general.

As for those subjects required for the degree of Licentiate under the heading, "rules for the examination" (*ratione periclitandæ doctrinal*) they are distributed in a two-years' course, in such a way that about one half may be taken every year. As to the preparation for the degree of Doctor, which requires much study and greater individual and private application, all candidates may profit greatly during the biennial course (or when that is completed during the third year), by the methodological and bibliographical work and the conferences given for the benefit of those aspiring for the Doctor's degree.

Aside from the required lectures and exercises, students may also, with the advice and consent of the president, elect other lectures and exercises which they may deem profitable. As a rule, the same course of study is not suitable for all, and for that reason the same lectures and exercises will not be attended by all students; but lest any may be led in the wrong direction, it will be well for all to consult invariably their superiors in selecting courses.

4. *Beginning of the Lectures.* Lectures and exercises, by the goodness of God, will begin November 5, 1909.

5. *Examinations for the degree of Licentiate in Sacred Scripture before the Pontifical Bible Commission.* There will be two examinations for the above degree during the coming year; the first on November 15, 16, and 18, in the other toward the end of June.

LECTURES AND PRACTICAL EXERCISES OF THE INSTITUTE

The sign * marks the required lectures for the Licentiate; the sign † denotes the practical exercises. The subjects in the left-hand column are studies of the first year, and those on the right side belong to the second, while those covering the entire page apply to both years.

1. The Method of Study of Sacred Scripture

†The scientific method in general; the scientific study of the Sacred Scripture in particular; the several parts of biblical study; the auxiliary disciplines pertaining to this study; biblical literature; the most recent biblical books and commentaries.

†The practical study of Sacred Scripture for the priestly ministry.

†The difficulties which meet us in the study of Sacred Scripture.

2. General Introduction to Sacred Scripture

*The inspiration and inerrancy of the Sacred Scripture; the laws of biblical hermeneutics; the literal and the typical sense of Sacred Scripture.

The origin and authority of the Masoretic text and its history; the Greek and Oriental versions of sacred Scripture; the history of the canon of the Old Testament.

† The principles of textual criticism and their application to the sacred text of the Old Testament.

The Greek text of the New Testament and its history; history and authenticity of the Vulgate; other Occidental versions of the Sacred Scriptures; history of the canon of the New Testament.

† Practical exercises on the criticism of the text of the New Testament.

3. Special Introduction to the Different Sacred Books

*Special introduction to the books of the Old Testament.

*Special introduction to the historical books of the New Testament and to the Epistles and Apocalypse of Saint John.

*Special introduction to the didactic and prophetical books of the Old Testament.

*Special introduction to the Pauline and to the other Catholic Epistles.

4. Interpretation of the Sacred Text

*† Exegesis of the Hebrew text First and Second Kings.

*† Exegesis of the Greek text of the four Gospels up to the Passion of Christ.

Selected texts from the historical books of the Old Testament.

Selected texts from the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

*† Exegesis of the Hebrew text of Third and Fourth Kings [First and Second Chronicles].

*† Exegesis of the Greek text of the remaining parts of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles.

Selected texts from the didactic and prophetic books of the Old Testament.

Selected texts from the Epistles and the Apocalypse.

5. Biblical Theology

Selected questions from the biblical theology of the Old and of the New Testaments.

6. Biblical History

*† History of the Hebrews from Samuel to the death of Solomon.

*† Gospel History.

Selected questions from the other parts of the historical books of the Old Testament; general view of Babylonian and Assyrian history

* The different sects among the Jews at the time of Christ

*† History of the Hebrews from the division of the kingdom to the Babylonian captivity.

*† Apostolic history to the first imprisonment of Saint Paul at Rome.

Selected passages from other parts of the biblical history of the New Testament; general view of Egyptian history.

The history of the Jews from A. D. 30–130.

7. Biblical Geography

* The inhabitants of Palestine.
* Geography of Palestine at the time of the Kings.
Biblical geography of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia.
* Division of Palestine and topography of Jerusalem at the time of Christ.
* Journeys of Saint Paul.
Biblical geography of Egypt, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy.

8. Biblical Archæology

* The calendar and principal sacred rites of the Hebrews.
* The ancient Hebrew synagogues.
The Tabernacle of the Covenant and the Temple at Jerusalem.
† Greek and Latin paleography: Greek papyri and ostraci.
* The most ancient Palestinian inscriptions.
* Weights, measures and coins mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures.
† Semitic paleography; Aramaic papyri.

9. Biblical Philology

Higher courses in Hebrew; the Greek of the New Testament.

A course in some one of the other Oriental languages to continue for two years will be offered in alternate years. Hebrew, Syriac, and Coptic will be given next year.

10. Historical Exegesis

Judaic exegesis; the exegesis of the Greek and Latin fathers to the eighth century.

Conspectus of historical exegesis from the eighth century to the present time.

PUBLIC CONFERENCES

To attain the end sought by the Apostolic See in founding the Biblical Institute, besides the lectures and exercises, public conferences on biblical subjects will be held, so as to meet the desires and needs of the many desiring biblical instruction.

During the first year public conference will be held to discuss, among other subjects: Palestinian conditions throwing light upon the life of Christ, as related in the Scriptures; the vain efforts of a false science against the truth of the Gospels.

Whenever the nature or character of the subject will permit, the lectures in these conferences will be illustrated by means of electric projections (*projectionibus electricis*).

Further details will be announced in due time and place.

THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE INSTITUTE

The publications issued by the Institute in conformity with the Apostolic letter, *Vinea Electa*, and as the third means to attain the end in view will be of three kinds:

1. *Acta Pontificî Instituti Biblici.* These will contain information regarding the work and affairs of the Institute, and will be issued whenever opportune or necessary.

2. Besides the Acta and as soon as possible, there shall appear *Commentationes* of the Institute. This biblical quarterly will pay special attention to everything of prime importance in biblical studies, and will vigorously endeavor to encourage by erudite elucidations the study of the Bible in all its branches, and all subjects related to it.

3. *Scripta Pontificî Instituti Biblici.* These will be works and pamphlets in harmony with the injunctions of the *Vinea Electa*, and of three kinds (1) a scientific-theoretical series for erudite biblical investigations; (2) a scientific,

practical series for the exposition and defense of Catholic truth regarding the sacred books; (3) a scientific-popular series, having in view the dissemination and popularization of sound teaching regarding the Bible.

Of the above publications the *Acta* will contain nothing except that announced officially by the Institute. The *Commentationes* and *Scripta* are open for all, and contributions will be accepted from every quarter, provided, of course, that such contributions meet the requirements naturally expected in such works. Moreover, the Institute earnestly requests all those who have at heart the true progress of biblical knowledge, and are qualified to assist the Institute by sending erudite dissertations and disquisitions on biblical topics, and also books and pamphlets to appear in the triple series of the *Scripta*. Contributions need not be in Latin or Italian, but may be written in English, French, German, or Spanish.

It is also requested that authors and editors of books or *brochures* on biblical studies send their publications to the Institute, and, for this double purpose: (1) that all such works may be noticed in the *Commentationes*, and (2) that an abundance of additional and subsidiary biblical literature may be always at the disposition of the students in the Institute library.

And to attain the above twofold end, it would be highly desirable and opportune if colleges, institutes, societies, editors, and publishers should exchange publications in any way touching upon biblical science with those of the Institute.

Information regarding subscriptions to publications of the Institute or any phase of its work will be published from time to time in the *Acta*, on sale at Bretschneider's, Via del Tritone 60.

NOTES FROM ROME

The excavations of the Roman Forum have reached the point where stands the present church of Sant' Adriano. This has been constructed out of the remains of the ancient Curia Iulia, the Senate House of Rome. In the near future this most important ruin is to be divested of the accretions of the centuries and be restored as a monument of the ancient city.

All lovers of the poet Horace will be glad to learn that the Italian Minister of Public Instruction has ordered excavations made to uncover the Sabine villa, which has been for some time quite definitely located at the foot of Mount Campanile, the Lucretilis of song. The fountain of Bandusia, rendered immortal by the poet's beautiful words, exists to-day almost exactly as it may have been two thousand years ago, lacking only the oak overhanging the cool waters.

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

NEWEST ASPECTS OF THE STUDY OF THE HISTORY OF DOGMA

In the years 1886-90 Adolf Harnack (as professor at Giessen, then at Marburg, and finally at Berlin) published the first edition of his famous and epoch-making *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (third edition, 1894-97; English translation, History of Dogmas, in 7 vols.). It will scarcely be questioned that this is the most significant and influential work of the last half of the nineteenth century in the field of church history; and there is but one work of that period in the whole wide range of the history of religion that has exceeded it in influence, namely, Wellhausen's History of Israel. It is, therefore, no wonder that the announcement (in 1908) of a forthcoming new edition of the great work was received with the liveliest interest. Of this edition two volumes have already been issued, and the third and last may be expected soon. Both in matter and form the work —already so admirable—is much improved. That an investigator of Harnack's powers, in spite of his other great labors, must, in the interval of a dozen years or more, have penetrated much more deeply into his subject, and must have brought to light new treasures, was confidently to be expected. In respect of form, however, the alteration has been less than many had expected and desired. Harnack himself had expressed his dissatisfaction with the multitude of footnotes, though he justified them as necessary and inevitable. "Let the in many respects clumsy form of this book remain so long as it represents the difficulties with which the study is still oppressed." And so the hoped-for radical transformation of the book was not undertaken. The time for this seems not yet ripe. Nevertheless, the work in its new form is distinctly better balanced and rounded than in the former editions. Harnack's style is too luminous and plastic to be rendered ineffective by any number of footnotes.

In 1889 Harnack's distinguished pupil, Loofs, published the first edition of his *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, which, though designed primarily as a basis for his lectures, showed even in its earliest form a considerable amount of independent research. The third edition of the Leitfaden appeared in 1893, comprising 500 pages and numbering 4,000 copies. The fourth edition of 1906 comprises more than 1,000 pages, and is in every way a magnificent work. Great as is his debt to Harnack —a debt, by the way, always amply and gladly acknowledged—Loofs has shown himself, not only in this book but also in important special studies in the same field, to be an independent investigator of the very first rank. It is probable that his studies have done more in the last fifteen years to extend the range of knowledge of the history of dogma than those of any other man. Especially noteworthy is his work entitled Nestoriana (1905),

but also his remarkable articles in Hauck's *Realencyclopädie* (such as those on Christology, the Lord's Supper, Augustine, Pelagius, etc.). In 1895-98 Reinhold Seeberg (then in Erlangen, now in Berlin) published the first edition of a History of Dogma in two volumes (English translation by Hay). In 1908 and 1910 have appeared the first two volumes of an enlarged and greatly improved second edition of this work. While in matters of historical research less penetrating and fruitful than Harnack and Loofs, Seeberg has great merits as historian of dogma. His style is warm and vivid, his grasp of the factors in the development of dogma is strong and firm, his statement of problems is clear. Besides this it is of value to have so serious and able a presentation of a view of the origin and development of dogma so widely divergent from Harnack's. Especially in his view of the beginnings of dogma, Seeberg has weighty considerations to direct against the position of Harnack. The immense praise unanimously accorded Harnack for his learning, originality, power of combination and freshness of presentation, and especially for his wonderfully clear conception of the organic unity and the tenacity of Catholic dogma, in spite of all variety and change, has not been given without a widespread dissent from his view of the scope of the term "dogma." Harnack uses the word "dogma" in the narrowest sense as a doctrinal statement definitely formulated and expressly sanctioned by the church as the full, adequate, and indispensably necessary expression of the faith. In this restricted sense dogma can properly exist only on the ground of Catholicism. And, indeed, Harnack consistently adheres to this definition, and accordingly follows the Greek development until the dogmatic "petrefaction" in 787, and the Roman Catholic development up to the present; but he touches Protestantism only so far as to set forth "the original position of the reformers, subject, as it was, to contradictions, in relation to church doctrine." Evangelical "statements of the faith" may, he admits, be called dogmas *in the wider sense;* but his book "pertains not to the universal genus dogma, but to the species, namely, to the specific dogma, as it took shape on the soil of the ancient world and, even if with modifications, is still a power." This very restricted use of the word "dogma" Loofs and Seeberg have not accepted. For Loofs "dogmas are those statements of the faith the acknowledgment of which an ecclesiastical communion expressly requires of its members, or at least of its teachers." Dogma is, accordingly, "churchly-authoritative doctrine." Loofs, however, explains that "the 'dogma' does not need in every instance to be fixed by synods or by means of symbols (creeds); its authority can be otherwise conditioned." Evidently, this definition is broad enough to be applicable to the expressly sanctioned doctrines of the Protestant churches. The Protestant conception of the nature of faith necessarily excludes all thought of identifying dogma with faith; yet, of course, there are doctrinal statements which are expressly sanctioned by the Protestant churches, and so have normative authority in the same. In this view of dogma Seeberg is in full agreement with Loofs. "Not all theological statements are dogmas, but only such as have become church statements." But in 1895 Krüger, and in 1898 Stange, attacked even this less restricted use of the term as being still too re-

stricted. Stange insisted that the express sanction of a church is not necessary to the constitution of a dogma. There are communions which deprecate the formation of any and all dogmas and yet are clearly under the sway of the most specific doctrinal conceptions. For Stange the essential thing in dogma is its *actual normative force* in a religious communion. And the term "communion" may here be taken so broadly as to include not only all definitely organized churches, but also all those special forms of fellowship—it may be within the bounds of an organized church —which, perhaps with little or no technical organization, are united by common religious principles and purposes. In 1899 August Dorner (son of I. A. Dorner) published an Outline of the History of Dogma, in which he conceived his task as the "history of Christian ideas" (*des christlichen Erkennens*)—an extremely idealistic view, with more than a touch of Hegelianism.

Loofs's and Seeberg's definition of dogma clearly extends its scope so as to include the field of Protestantism. But inasmuch as they conceive of dogma as established only by a church's express sanction, they seem forced to close their account of the dogmatic development of the Reformed churches with the Formula Consensus Helvetica (1675), and of that of the Lutheran church with the Formula of Concord (1580), while, of course, the dogmatic development of Roman Catholicism must be followed down to the close of the Vatican Council in 1870. What inferences are to be drawn from such a view of dogmatic history? Shall we conclude that since 1580 or 1675 the Protestant churches have experienced no dogmatic development—have in this respect been at a standstill? Or are we to conclude that the unquestionably actual doctrinal development in these centuries has been quite "undogmatic" in its nature? The protest suggested by these inquiries has recently found very vigorous and effective expression from an unexpected quarter. In essential agreement with the definition of dogma as given by Krüger and Stange, Otto Ritschl, professor of systematic theology at Bonn, son and pupil of Albrecht Ritschl, and pupil of Harnack, has published (1908) the first volume of an ample *Dogmengeschichte des Protestantismus*. In it we find exhibited not only a thorough independence of mind (as shown in his breaking away from the standpoint to which his training might have bound him—the book, nevertheless, being dedicated to Harnack: *in alter Dankbarkeit gewidmet*), but also a wealth of interest in the matter presented. For Ritschl brings many things to light that had been forgotten or disregarded, and sets aright many things that had been generally misunderstood. The present (first) volume, after the weighty and interesting "Prolegomena" of 51 pages, deals with "Biblicism and Traditionalism in the Old-Protestant Theology." Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the book is the unexpected cordial appreciation of the fathers of Lutheran orthodoxy. This from a decidedly "modern" theologian is indeed noteworthy. But it is not designed here to review the book, but only to indicate its general character and its probable significance for the further development of historical and theological science. The work is the fruit of long and patient research and thought, and is sure to provoke earnest discussion and study.

A PROFESSORSHIP AND A COMMISSION FOR APOLOGETICS

About a year ago a new extraordinary professorship for apologetics was created at Leipzig, and A. W. Hunzinger (born 1871) was appointed to fill the chair. This is the first time in the history of German Protestant theological faculties that this subdivision of systematic theology has had a chair devoted specially to it. Hunzinger has lately been attracting no little attention to his program. At the twelfth General Evangelical Lutheran Conference, in Hanover (September 14-17, 1908), he delivered an address on "Our Apologetic Task," which was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The speaker expressed the belief that a new apologetic age was about to dawn. The faith does not need to be rescued, but there is danger that people will lose their foothold. The church can be a true church of the people only as she is the strongest of all powers to produce or confirm a right view of the universe. The chief task will be to bring this power that is in Christianity so fully to expression in the intellectual life of the present, that German Christian idealism shall awake and shake off naturalism that now lies like an Alp on the people. The way to this end he then sketched, ending with the thought that the church must provide men and organs specially fitted for and devoted to the task of apologetics. From the beginning to the end Hunzinger carried the great conference with him.

In accordance with the proposal of the speaker the Conference determined to establish an Apologetic Commission. Five men—two university professors, two pastors, one gymnasium professor—compose the commission, which will have its seat in Leipzig. The object in view is to organize a bureau of information, especially to serve the needs of teachers, and a system of lectures in the principal cities and towns throughout the country. It is the intention also to establish an apologetic library. The whole movement, of course, will be carried on in general agreement with the standpoint of the Conference, that is, Lutheran orthodoxy.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

The Hibbert Journal for January might almost be called a Tyrrell number, so much space is given to Father George Tyrrell, the Jesuit priest, a leader of the "liberals" in the Roman Church, protesting against Papal tyranny, and insisting on freedom of thought and of scholarship, especially in biblical criticism and comparative religion, the apostle of modernism in the Papal Church. In the first January article Baron F. von Hügel presents some memorials of the last twelve years of Father Tyrrell's life; and in the second article, the Rev. C. E. Osborne gives his personal impressions as an intimate friend. In addition to these articles, the first review in the department of Book Notices is of Father Tyrrell's last book, now so much discussed, entitled Christianity at the Cross-Roads, the deepest and most characteristic of all his writings. The picture given us of Father Tyrrell by his two friends is of an impressive and engaging character: An Irishman, with the Celtic wit and tenderness of heart and subtle grace of imagination, the fire and glow and surge of soul, the sentiment and gayety of the Gaelic blood; a man also of quiet and lonely courage, reared in an atmosphere of plain living and high thinking, disciplined by a frugal and strenuous mode of existence to simplicity, self-control and careful stewardship of time and of all other resources; a man of deep religiousness and delicate spirituality, incurably spiritual, heroic, and amazingly farsighted. To Protestants Father George Tyrrell has seemed recently the most uplifted, gallant and prophetic figure in the Roman Church, making in the name of freedom his passionate protest against the absoluteness of the Papal power, which he considered the greatest obstacle to the progress of Romanism among the civilized nations of the world. He demanded that this autocratic exercise of unlimited authority should be checked and limited. He complained that this arbitrary power transgresses the rights of the individual mind and conscience, transgresses the rights of science and learning and the rights of the State. He provoked the bitter displeasure of the Vatican by speaking out fearlessly and vehemently against the ever-increasing centralization and absolutism of the Papal authority. This Irish Romanist felt, with Lord Acton, that "the very principle of Ultramontanism is profoundly unchristian and immoral." R. F. Horton tells us that Huxley went one day to dine with William George Ward, the typical English Romanist of the modern Romanist reaction. He stepped to the window and peered out of it. Ward asked him what he was doing. "I was looking," said Huxley, "in your garden for the *stake*, Dr. Ward, which I suppose you have got ready for us after dinner." It was not a joke. Ward's relentless Romish logic was prepared for persecution, if it should again become possible or expedient. Huxley was more religious than Ward. From his bracing air of exact inquiry and fearless acceptance of truth the soul can easily pass into true religion. But from Ward's stifling atmosphere of Romish authority and coercion the soul can only

sink enervated into modern Mariolatry and worship of the Pope. Tyrrell loved the word "Catholic"—he said it was as music to his ears; it brought the whole *orbis terrarum* before his eyes—the world which was embraced in Christ's outstretched arms upon the cross. So do we love the word "catholic"; and in the Apostles' Creed we declare our belief in the holy catholic church. But the Roman Church is not the catholic church. It has no moral right to arrogate to itself that name. Its proper title is "the Roman Church," or a yet more accurately descriptive title would be "the Papal Church." To give it that name is both fair and fit. The declarations of this great Jesuit, who made himself the champion of freedom under a hierarchical despotism, and who fearlessly characterized the Papal power as it deserves, warrant and sustain our contention that the Roman Church is *not* "catholic," and has no moral right to appropriate that name. The claim implied in calling itself "the Catholic Church" is foundationless and false. "Catholic" means "universal," and the Roman Church is not the church universal; it is at best only a part—and by no means the best part—of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ, which is made up of all true Christians under whatever name. The impudence of a part which calls itself the whole is glaring and intolerable. By all outside of its communion it should be called the Papal Church. This is accurate, for it is the one church that has a Pope; that is its distinctive peculiarity. And because it is the Papal Church, ruled by the Pope of Rome, a foreign potentate, it is in America a foreign body with headquarters on the Tiber; standing among us as the one un-American church in our land. And its leaders in this country are boasting that they "have Romanized America"! Their so-called Catholicism is Romanized Christianity. Is it really true that American Christendom has been made, or is to be made, a dependency of the Vatican? What have the great and mighty Protestant bodies to say to such daring claims and avowed purposes? We are glad to have Father Tyrrell's testimony. Tyrrell had no sympathy with the Romanizing wing of the Anglican Church. He called them the "Anglican Ultramontanes" and said that they merely succeeded in reproducing Rome's mistakes without her logic. In the same number of the Hibbert Dr. P. T. Forsyth says: "The Papacy is a heresy. It is quite impossible that it should live in the same house with evangelical faith. To make the Pope the vicar of Christ is heretical." We will add that it is a blasphemous pretense and fraud. On an erroneous exegesis of an ambiguous text in Matthew xvi, Rome has reared the stupendous despotism of the Papacy. Father Tyrrell, the leader of the Modernists, held that Christianity must be before all things evangelical. He had no patience with the merely ethical conception according to which Jesus of Nazareth is but the drawer aside of a curtain, the removal of which leaves face to face "God and my soul, my soul and God." For him the divine Personality of Jesus Christ, and not his ethic merely, was the supreme and central feature of the Christian religion.———Two of the articles in the January Hibbert contrast self-assertion in Nietzsche with self-surrender in Boehme. From the former we quote the following: "Nietzsche's attack upon religion and morality is well worthy of serious consideration. We

must endeavor to appreciate his point of view. He looked out upon the world, and did not, like Saint Paul and the fathers of the church, find human beings rioting in an exuberance of wantonness, but found them for the most part tame, mediocre, undeveloped, without passion, without initiative, incapable even of strenuous wickedness. The modern European is, he says, a tame house animal. It is from this point of view that he attacks those who preach self-sacrifice, repression, ascetic ideals; who constantly harp upon sin and its consequences, and who encourage feelings of remorse, guilty conscience, self-laceration. Our moralists impose additional chains upon those who are already slaves. As opposed to these nihilists, these preachers of destruction, of the negation of life, he teaches that men while in this world should live as fully and abundantly as possible, feel every thrill and ecstasy, discharge their strength; that life is power and the will to power; everything is good that makes for power; everything that makes for weakness is bad. As the crowd seek comfort and a safe and vegetable existence, the strong man or noble man, who aims at fullness and intensity of life and whose goal is beyond man, must scorn the virtues of the crowd and strike out his own plan of life. The crowd will look upon him as a wicked person, a disturber of social order, and will endeavor to suppress him. He will, therefore, be a warrior reveling in danger and opposition, welcoming hardships, rebuffs, misfortunes, as they give him the mastery over himself and over circumstances; fond of adventures, temptations, thrilling experiences, because life is short and he must live to the utmost; viewing life as an æsthetic spectacle; fond of good company and equally fond of bad company, but more a lover of solitude, concealing beneath a gay wantonness an intense seriousness; in the sphere of action a leader of men; in the realm of thought, not a scholar, an interpreter of other men's ideas, but a courageous critic, a free lance, a writer at first hand, a creator. The picture so far is a fascinating one; but it must at the same time be pointed out that Nietzsche's strong man is an egoist, with a lofty contempt for the crowd, without pity for the weak, who treats women not as companions but as dangerous toys, and who is lacking in a sufficient sense of reverence, of duty, and of discipline. In other words, there is in his strong man a good deal of blatant weakness. His strong man will be able neither to command nor to obey; he will become a criminal or a lunatic unless his supermorality comprehends, while it rises beyond, the morality of the crowd. Fullness and intensity of life are good, but there must be barriers and limitations, the life must flow in well-regulated channels. The more intense each passion and desire, and the more intense the 'will-to-power,' the more intense must be the feelings of duty and discipline. Love of danger and adventure is excellent if balanced by a corresponding prudence. An enlightened egoism must include some degree of self-sacrifice and submission to the will of the community. Nietzsche's own overweening egoism was probably one of the contributory causes of his madness. One cannot with impunity attack what men have hitherto held sacred; rules and conventions that have been evolved through centuries of experience must be reverenced, though they must be modified with changing circumstances."———From the article

on Boehme we take the following: "Philosophy does not exist for its own sake, but for the sake of producing right conditions, and setting men on the right road. We should seek the true only to attain the good. Boehme's philosophy—apparently the most abstract of all—is of all the most practical. From if I learn to avoid mistakes into which ignorance and inexperience naturally fall; and not only to know that they are mistakes but also to see exactly why they are such. Righteousness and sin remain as much as ever the eternal choice for man; but no longer because of the arbitrary command of a Being who can punish me if I do not obey. I am shown the inward reason from a point as near to the divine as is possible to a creature of imperfect faculty. I see the grand, divine Order, that things should *be* rather than *seem;* and understand the natural temptation to a limited creature to prefer above all things to seem, to get credit for his little gifts and graces among those—his fellows—who for the present see only the surface, whereby we feel inclined to have whatever we pride ourselves on, upon the surface and think it of small value if it is not seen of all men. I see that the nature thus qualified must be a surface nature, two-dimensional instead of three; and that it gives rise to a world where surface considerations weigh alone, and men prefer to be reputed to have without having, rather than to have without being reputed to have. Thus I understand the false glory of this world and its cure. This is not so much to give up the desire to be great, as to give up the desire for an inferior sort of greatness which stands in pretense rather than in actuality. I see that sin is only the will of a being hostile to God because it is the will of a being who preferred the false to the true, the apparent to the real, the being thought great to actually being great in the sight of those who can see all that is there. I see that this pretentious greatness is a thin surface over a hollow void, a bubble that must sooner or later burst, and—having no solidity—vanish. It is this love of estimation rather than reality that I must straightway put into the hiddenness; and that the way to do this is to bring out of the hiddenness in myself its contrary, the feeling that virtue is its own reward, that to be really great from center to circumference is far greater than to be applauded by all the blind of this world for what I only seem to be on the circumference. And his is a most helpful perfection. For often I am perplexed how to operate to my self-amendment. *Now* I know that I have the right thing in me, only it is yet hidden. I have no need to go far and wide—up to heaven, or over the sea—to find what I ought to have, for it is nigh, *in* my heart, and only needs to be discovered and brought to the surface. What benefit to the beggar to dream that he is a king and surrounded by applauding crowds? It only makes him 'cry to dream again,' which means that he does not believe that he can be equally happy in real life. Yet this is a delusion: real life must have greater possibilities than any delusive dream; only the good things of the real cannot be gained by lying down and going to sleep, but only by effort and earnestness as real as the things desired. Many could give us the conclusions here reached. The value of Boehme is not in the conclusions he sets forth, but in the fact that he sees and indicates the premises on which the conclusions rest."

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

What is Christianity? A Series of Lectures Delivered in the Central Hall Manchester England Two volumes. 12mo. pp. 356, 319. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, cloth, $2.50.

The general theme of Vol. I is Christian Doctrine, and of Vol. II Christian Life. The lectures are practical, dealing plainly with religious subjects and questions in a way suited to the miscellaneous audiences to whom they were spoken. A sample is this on Conversion: "The experience of conversion varies in different people. The types are as varied as human temperament. With some it is sudden, convulsive, and exciting; with others it is gradual, gentle, and almost imperceptible. In the Acts of the Apostles the most startling contrasts are placed side by side that we may be preserved from the tyranny of any one type. Saul of Tarsus, with the supernatural accompaniments of light, visions, and healing, is balanced by the Ethopian eunuch, who was converted as he rode home reading his Bible. The conversion of Lydia, whose heart the Lord opened, is placed alongside that of the Philippian jailer, with its earthquake terror and tragedy. There are twelve gates into the city, and they all lead to the one throne. It is the throne that matters. They come from all points of the compass and in every variety of way, but the one thing common to them all is that they come to God and surrender to his will. That is the essential thing, that every man turn away from iniquity and from his own way to serve the living God. Whether we turn with tears or with dry eyes does not matter, if we turn. Convulsion is no necessary part of conversion, but consent to the will of God is as its very soul. There is in one of the American cities an honored citizen who was for many years a notorious gambler. One Sunday morning he stepped out of the hotel, leaving his companions stripped of everything that could be staked upon the play. His pockets were full of money and I O U's. As he walked down the street in the calm and sunshine of a Sabbath morning, he suddenly loathed himself and the life he lived. He said half-aloud, 'I'll quit.' No one had cared for his soul except a young girl in her teens, and he went to the girl's home to tell her he would be at church that evening. Her father rebuked him, and charged him with having been playing poker all night. 'I have,' he said. 'I am on my way home now, and this is my night's winnings, but I've quit. All this money I will return, and come to service this evening.' He went to service, and sat by the child who had prayed for his soul. At the close of the sermon he rose and said, 'I wish to say that, in God's name, I've quit.' From that day he has been a God-fearing man. Never mind your feelings. Quit!" In the style and matter of the lectures there is wide variety, since they are by a great variety of men, all trying to put the truth home to the plain wayfaring man. One of the aptest and most telling is by

Rev. S. F. Collier, who knows his Central Hall audience and knows what he is about. The subject of it is "The Miracle of Changed Lives." He confronts Blatchford, the editor of the Clarion, with his own words written once in reply to the statement that nothing has come of Christianity. To that preposterous falsehood, even Blatchford had to answer: "Has nothing come of it? But almost every noble action and sweet personality in all those nineteen centuries has come of it. A very great deal of our progress has come of it. All the mercy and patience we have in the present, and all the hope we have in the future, has come of it. Moreover, let us remember that the very fact that the gospel of love has lived for so many centuries against long odds and bitter opposition is a proof of its vitality and truth." Mr. Collier says this: "Jesus Christ came to save the lost. I remember a well-known and earnest social reformer saying to me, 'It is no use attempting to deal with certain portions of the community. They are irredeemable. It is waste time, strength, and money.' Then, after a pause, he said, 'I know, Collier, you don't believe that—you think there is a chance for every man.' I replied, 'Of course I do. That is the glory of the gospel I preach. Your gospel of humanity is a gospel full of limitations and ever must be; the gospel of Christ is as wide and effective as the "Whosoever" of its invitation.' We claim that Christianity holds the field against all systems of philanthropy and religion. Other lecturers have dealt in masterly and effective manner with the 'Evidences' for the truth of Christianity. To-day we bring forward what must ever be the decisive argument. There is no lack of testimony. In all classes, in all ranks, in all countries, men and women have borne and still bear their testimony to their faith that Christ, and Christ alone, is their Saviour. It would be easy to call as witnesses a vast array of men and women of the keenest intellects and widest experience—leading scientists, foremost statesmen, eminent philosophers, great scholars, most successful business men, labor leaders, all bearing the same testimony to the truth and power of Christianity. But we need not go beyond our own city; we need not step out of this hall. Here men and women who have been the despair of their friends have been restored to nobility of character; men and women who have been most hopeless about themselves have found abundant hope in Christ." Rev. J. Lewis Paton, in a lecture on "Christ and Our Pleasures," says: "Not even in the darkest hour does joy desert the Christian, if he has first given himself to God. God gives him all things richly to enjoy, because he has first given him a gift the worldling refuses to accept—himself. What gladder pæan of triumph was ever written than Paul wrote when held in Nero's grip in the Roman prison?—it is his first and his last word to the Philippians, 'Rejoice, and again I say rejoice.' To bear pain for the sake of Christ, to suffer rather than surrender truth, or in order to save another; to take a blow that was meant for another in order to shield that other; to drudge, to serve, to give up that we may be fellow-workers with God himself in the saving of our fellows; to do all this is joy because it is Love; and love, the death of self, is the real life of man, because it is the life of God himself. It is a great truth, and it

must be learned in the fire." And then he quotes Robert Louis Stevenson's verse:

> Come well or ill, the cross, the crown,
> The rainbow or the thunder,
> I fling my soul and body down
> For God to plow them under.

Further on Mr. Paton says: "Just as there is a *happiness of duty*, so, I repeat, there is a *duty of happiness*. If Christians are to make the world happier, the first thing for them is to be happy themselves. Happiness is caught by contagion, and, strange to say, the man who has brought this lesson home to his day and generation better than any other teacher is one whose whole life was one constant struggle against pain and weakness, an exile from the land he loved so well. Listen to Louis Stevenson's evening prayer:

> If I have faltered more or less
> In my great task of happiness;
> If I have moved among my race
> And shown no glorious morning face;
> If beams from happy human eyes
> Have moved me not; if morning skies,
> Books, and my food, and summer rain,
> Knocked on my sullen heart in vain,—
> Lord, Thy most pointed pleasure take,
> And stab my spirit broad awake."

Comparative Religion. By W St Clair Tisdall, D.D. 16mo, pp 132. New York: Longmans, Green & Co Price, cloth, 40 cents, net.

This is one of the series of Anglican Church Handbooks edited by W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D. We have already commended some of the volumes. The chapters of this book are summed up in conclusions which, because of their compactness, we quote as a sample of the whole. The question is, What difference do we find between Christianity and other religions which justifies us in holding it to be the absolute religion, and distinct not only in degree but in kind from every ethnic faith? To this the author makes reply as follows: "It is not difficult to answer this question. Christianity is no mere system of ethics, as some hold; it is no confused mass of dogmas, no senseless collection of jejune rites and ceremonies, no tangled jungle of traditions and myths, which have gradually gathered from many different quarters and have hardly yet been systematized. Above all, we must not mistake for Christianity, as do many of our modern opponents, that fallen church which in the Apocalypse is described in language almost too strong and too truthful for the false liberalism of our day to tolerate. Christianity is not a mere religion as other religions: Christianity is Christ. Herein the 'faith once for all delivered unto the saints' differs from all others. One who is not generally accounted by any means an orthodox Christian, and whose evidence is on that account all the more worthy of consideration by those who are not as yet convinced of the truth of Christianity, writes thus of Christ's

mighty influence upon mankind, contrasting it, not with that of the ethnic faiths in their corruption, but with that exercised by the greatest philosophers of ancient times upon their disciples. 'The Platonist,' says Mr. Lecky, 'exhorted men to imitate God, the Stoic to follow reason, the Christian to the love of Christ. The later Stoics had often united their notions of excellence in an ideal sage, and Epictetus had even urged his disciples to set before them some man of surpassing excellence, and to imagine him continually near them: but the utmost the Stoic ideal could become was a model for imitation, and the admiration it inspired could never deepen into affection. It was reserved for Christianity to present to the world an ideal character, which, through all the changes of eighteen centuries, has inspired the hearts of men with an impassioned love, has shown itself capable of acting on all ages, nations, temperaments, and conditions, has been not only the highest pattern of virtue, but the strongest incentive to its practice, and has exercised so deep an influence that it may be truly said that the simple record of three short years of active life has done more to regenerate and soften mankind than all the disquisitions of philosophers and all the exhortations of moralists. This has, indeed, been the wellspring of whatever is best and purest in the Christian life. Among all the sins and fallings, amid all the priestcraft and persecution and fanaticism that have defaced the church, it has preserved, in the character and example of its Founder, an enduring principle of regeneration.' Again, Christianity differs from all other faiths by containing all the good to be found in the whole of them collectively, but none of their errors and abominations. Ethnic religions have been compared to a stream into which flow two rivulets, one pure and the other foul. In the bed of the river these mingle their waters, though sometimes there may still be detected a part of the current which has partially escaped pollution. Lactantius and other Christian writers of antiquity appeal to the fact that on certain occasions even polytheists confess the unity of God and show some knowledge of him. 'When they swear, and when they express a hope, and when they render thanks, they name—not Jove, nor many deities, but—"God"; to such an extent does truth of itself naturally find expression even from unwilling hearts.' Lactantius points out that in prosperity this occurs much less frequently than in adversity. Amid the threatening horrors of war, when in danger from pestilence, drought, famine, and even a sudden storm, men turn to God, seek aid from him, beg him to come to their assistance. But 'they never remember God except when they are in trouble. After fear has left them and dangers have receded, then indeed do they joyfully run together to the temples of the deities: to them they pour out libations, to them they offer sacrifice, them do they crown with garlands. But to God, whom they had called upon in the stress of necessity, not even in word do they offer thanks.' Underlying polytheism, and even such philosophical pantheism as is to be found in modern India, there still exists in each human heart, even if no longer in book-religions and in systems of philosophy, an innate belief in the one true and living God, who is not a 'Stream of Tendency,' not 'The Unknowable,' nor 'a Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness,' but

the heavenly Father whose name is preserved even in the traditions of the modern savage. In the ethnic religions, on the other hand, we meet with a whole host of lesser divinities, many of them confessedly evil, who have almost entirely led their worshipers away from God. In recalling men to the worship of the Father in heaven, Christianity is a 'republication of natural religion.' Moreover, it thus again proclaims the great truth to which 'the human soul naturally Christian' bears mute witness. It not only avoids introducing other gods but leaves no room for them in the heart of a Christian worthy of the name. In this respect, as well as in many others, we have in Christianity the gold without the alloy, the silver without the dross. As we have already seen, there is good reason to believe that the true knowledge of God shone upon the cradle of our race. The noble vision became veiled, and idolatry with all its attendant abominations shows itself in history as the result of a fall which calls for a restoration, rather than as the starting point of a continuous advance. The noble vision became veiled. Who raised the veil? It was not the priests of the idols. In the history of paganism reformation movements, or at least those of religious transformation, are met with. Buddhism is a noteworthy instance. But it was not a return to the pure traditions of India or of Egypt which made us know that God whom we adore. Was the veil raised by thought, that is to say, by the efforts of philosophers? Philosophy has rendered brilliant services to the world, . . . yet it was not philosophy that restored to humanity the conception of God. Mixed with darkness its rays of light remained scattered, destitute of a focus sufficiently potent to enable them to enlighten the universe. To seek for God, and, consequently, in some degree to know him already, but to stand constantly in front of the altar of a God of whom chosen sages had merely caught a glimpse, and who to the multitude remained an Unknown God—such was the wisdom of the ancients. It prepared the soil, but it did not plant the seed from which should spring up, living and strong, the conception of the Creator, to shade with its boughs all the peoples of the earth. And when this conception did appear in all its splendor and began the conquest of the world, ancient philosophy, which had parted company with pagan worship and had covered it with contempt, formed an alliance with its old enemy. It accepted the most rash explanations of common superstitions in order to be able to league itself with the mob in the contest with the new Power which had just made its appearance in the world. This is the epitome of the history of philosophy in the first period of our era. Modern monotheism is not the offspring of paganism, speaking historically. It was prepared for by ancient philosophy without being produced thereby. Whence, then, does it come? About this there exists no serious difference of opinion. Our knowledge of God is the result of a conception traditionally transmitted from generation to generation in a definite historical course. . . . All the superstitions of which history retains the recollection still prevail to-day either in Asia or in Africa or in the islands of the sea. The most absurd and the most cruel rites are still shone upon by the rays of the same sun that at its setting gilds the spires and domes of our churches. Even to-day there are on earth peoples who

prostrate themselves before animals, or who worship sacred trees. Even to-day, says the lecturer whom we are here quoting, perchance at the very moment when I am addressing you, human victims are being bound by idol priests; before you leave this hall their blood will have stained the altars of false gods. Even to-day many nations, which have lacked neither time to develop themselves, nor all the resources of civilization, nor able poets, nor thoughtful philosophers, belong to the religion of the Brahmans or are taught the legends which clothe the gloomy teachings of Buddha. Where is there to be found the clear conception of the Creator? In an unique tradition which comes from the Jews, which the Christians have spread abroad, and which Mohammed corrupted. It is under the influence of this tradition, and nowhere else, that God is known with that clear and general knowledge which forms the foundation of a doctrine and of a religion. This is a simple fact of modern history, and hardly any fact of history is more thoroughly established. Not only does belief in the one living and true God come to us through Christ, the Messiah promised to the chosen people so long before his advent, but, apart from Christ and his teaching, we moderns have made absolutely no advance in the knowledge of God beyond that of the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Without the self-revelation of God in Jesus Christ we should, at best, still be erecting altars to an Unknown God. Christ alone among the great teachers of the world presents to us from the moral side an embodiment of our highest possible conceptions of the Divine. These are not only loftier and nobler than those which the Jews had of old, but—as held by all true Christians—are higher than the conceptions of our greatest modern non-Christian thinkers, such as Spencer and Mill. When a man rejects Christ he soon finds how little he knows about God. He is a lost babe in the wood, he knows not the path home, he can teach nothing that will help his fellows. His creed consists of empty negations. For a time he may still cling to the belief that virtue, honor, purity are not mere vain words; inherited Christian habits may enable him to live an upright though hopeless life. But the flower soon withers when severed from the parent stem. Life lacks an object, exertion a mainspring, existence a goal, when Jesus Christ fades from our view, and with him the Father in heaven whom he has revealed to men. In religious philosophy, too, the debt which we owe to the gospel is great. Egypt may perhaps, as Professor Petrie seems to think, have first in a sense enunciated a theory which may have ultimately developed into some belief in a Divine Logos. The term is also employed in Plato and Philo, whence it doubtless entered into the philosophic language of the first century of our era. But how vast the difference between the vague and impersonal Logos theory of Philo and the 'Word made flesh' of Saint John! To speak of this or any other Christian doctrine as borrowed from any ethnic religion or philosophy is to confound words with things, the shadow with the substance, imagination with fact. But were Christianity as a whole produced from other faiths by some mysterious process of evolution which had actually—in whatever way—brought into existence the historical Christ of the Gospels, that fact, instead of disproving the truth of Christianity, would most

clearly show that, on any system of theism, Christianity was the goal to which God had gradually during past ages been guiding the human race. We may doubtless learn many lessons from the comparative study of religions, but from it at least two facts stand out most distinctly, being proved alike by the aspirations and by the failures of ethnic religions and philosophies. One of these is, the world's deep need of Christ; the other, his uniqueness. This twentieth century of ours, therefore, may well join its voice with that of his disciples of the first in the cry, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life': and well may it exclaim with Augustine, once an unbeliever and a sinner, afterward a faithful soldier of Christ: 'O God, Thou madest us for thyself, and restless is our heart until it rest in thee.'"

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

Great Issues. By Robert F. Horton. Crown 8vo pp. 379. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price cloth, $1.50, net

That the "issues" discussed in these twelve chapters are "great" all men will agree; with the views presented in the discussion not all men will fully agree; but that the book is stimulating will be conceded even by those who differ with parts of it. A certain reviewer thinks Dr. Horton's Christianity somewhat mystical and undefined and continues further as follows: "The Rev. Robert F. Horton, the author of Great Issues, represents the modern recrudescence of muscular Christianity. His will to believe is so strong and large as to admit lodging space for a reasonable amount of alien science and even skepticism. He is a lover of the cerebral watertight compartment. Keep your science and your faith apart and neither will trouble the other. Obviously, this is sound mediævalism; in fact, the merely ancillary position of science is hinted at if not affirmed. Myths, Religion, Morality, Politics, Socialism, Philosophy, Science, Theology, Literature, Art, Life, Death—such are the truly great issues that are here cheerfully elucidated. Mr. Horton's manner has dignity and force, but he strides all obstacles with the seven-leagued boots of the devout pragmatist. The churches seem to be dying, but Christianity is living, is a characteristic paradox. As to the story of Christ, he believes it to be essentially true: but if it were indeed a myth, it would have equal moral claims upon us. For "Christian Science" he entertains a tenderness, since the doctrine seems to provide cash values in personal serenity. Our essayist is widely read, and his illustrations are frequently better than the substance of his discourse. He was at Oxford 'in the days of the æsthetes,' but to judge by the essay on art it did him rather little good. In general he exemplifies a sort of temperamental optimism that easily invents the few intellectual warranties it needs. All his suppositions come out well. For instance, he writes: 'If Protestantism is a failure, as Dr. Newman Smyth implies, and as it would seem from the decay of the Protestant churches on the Continent, the alternative is not a return to Catholicism, but a return to Christianity.'

Our two quotations suggest the mystical and undefined sense that Christianity has in this book. In fact, the landscape of Great Issues has no metes and bounds. For that reason genial, long-winded folk of roving mood will like it immensely. Cautious folk who prefer to keep their intellectual bearings may as well be warned off once for all. One must share Mr. Horton's robust religious impressionism to profit by his counsels." Agreeing with this reviewer in the opinion that Dr. Horton's illustrations are often better than the substance of his discourse, we turn to some of the illustrations. Egerton Young went as missionary to a tribe of red men who had never heard the gospel. He dwelt on the Fatherhood of God with great earnestness. Presently a chief, in his feathers and deerskin, rose and said, "White man, do you say that God is the Father of the white man?' "Yes." "And is he the Father of the red men?" "Yes." "Then the red men and the white are brothers?" "Yes." "Why did not our white brothers, if they knew it, come and tell us this before?" In illustration of the well-known fact that actions which once passed unquestioned by conscience become questionable in a fuller moral light, and are finally condemned and put away, the following story is given: "George Grenfell found among the Bengola of the Congo the most revolting cannibalism. Not only were slaughtered enemies eaten, but human butchers kidnapped, bought, or otherwise obtained human flesh, which they fattened for the human market. A morbid passion for this food was common; a chief would kill and eat his wives, and ask the relatives of each slaughtered woman to the banquet; many would dig up corpses in an advanced stage of decomposition for food—the origin, it is thought, of the early Arab stories of ghouls! These customs existed unquestioned and uncondemned. But Grenfell found, on closer acquaintance with the tribe, that all were perfectly conscious of the evil. They knew the taste was depraved, as the drunkard condemns drunkenness. At the touch of the gospel the Bengola become the most devoted and loyal of Christians. They break with their old life; it passes as a horrible dream." Here is an attempt to illustrate the nature of hell: "Facing eternity, that eternity which it does not seem within our power to evade, it is evidently necessary to have a consciousness which, at home with eternal things, has learned to live a life tolerant of an eternal continuance and growth. A life which has become entirely dependent on the things that are passing away might be hardly less desolate and forlorn in an eternal world than one which has heedlessly misused the things of the senses. A Dives in hell might suffer as much as a debauchee or a criminal. For to the thoroughly vicious character the indulgence has ceased to be pleasing, and hell only continues the habit of his life; but for Dives hell means the loss of the comforts and luxuries which were his only pleasures. A man living the luxurious and self-indulgent life of the clubs had one night a dream which altogether changed his course of life. He was in hell, and he knew it. But the strange thing was that he was in the smoking-room of his club, and everything appeared just as usual. He rang the bell, which brought in the waiter, alert and respectful. He asked for the evening papers. 'Yes, sir,' was the reply, and they were

immediately brought. He glanced through them, but could find no interest in them. He rang again. The same deferential waiter was at the door. He ordered a brandy and soda. 'Yes, sir,' and it was brought at once. 'Waiter,' he asked, 'where am I?' 'In hell, sir,' was the reply. 'Is this hell?' he cried; 'is it just like this? Will it continue so?' 'Yes, it is just this, and will continue so!' 'Forever?' 'Yes, forever!' Then the horror of it broke upon him. Life had consisted in killing time with the aimless indulgences of the club. He had always congratulated himself on getting through another day, or week, or winter. Though he had always dreaded death, each lapse of the years of life had been a relief. But now here was no time to kill. He might kill years, centuries, millennia, but he would be just where he was—the selfish meals, the cigars, the drinks, the sporting papers. He realized that he was in hell. The supreme problem, then, is to obtain an interpretation, a plan, a mode of life which, having in itself intrinsic value, continued into eternity, would retain and increase its value. Not life is what we want, but life that is life indeed. '*Omnia fui, et nihil expedit*,' said the Emperor Severus—'I have been everything and nothing is of any use.' The same burden is in Ecclesiastes, though with a conclusion that offers a clue. It is a commonplace of thought—and it is this which makes Ecclesiastes the most delicately charming book in the Bible to a mind like Renan's—that all the experiences of honor, indulgence, wealth, and power, which are possible for a human being, may leave the soul as hungry and dissatisfied as ever. Though mistaken mortals start out on the old quest, defiant of the world's experience, it remains true that everything which the world offers is in the long run vanity and vexation of spirit." Here is a passage from Dr. Horton about the mission of the artist, which, in a measure, suggests the mission of the minister: "The soul of a man, and the soul of a society, withers and perishes, unless some gifted minds, 'of imagination all compact,' can body forth its ideal, and present it with the images toward which it is to grow. The intrinsic beauty is not always visible to the eye, nor is the harmony of the spheres always audible to the ear. The world looks drab and casual, a rapid succession of vanishing scenes rather than a paradise or a city of God. The sounds which assail the ear are often discordant or unintelligible. The beauty we thought was there is gone, the music we thought we heard is silent. Discouraged and disillusioned, humanity relaxes effort and stops its march. Now is the artist needed. He does not take the place of the prophet or the seer; he is the prophet and the seer. He does not usurp the work of evangelist and apostle, but he is needed to bathe the evangel in the iridescent colors of the heavens, and to carry the apostle forward to the sound of music. He begins the high chant of the things that always were and of the things that are to be. And the mighty process of evolution becomes an ordered march, a march to the melody of which the feet of men can move. 'Mother,' said a child, as the military band marched along the street, 'how is it that the music makes me feel happier than I am?' The answer is one of the great secrets and the justification of all great art. The artist paints his picture or fetches his statue out of the marble, and immediately the world is seen to be a

great landscape or seascape, blossoming, wind-swept, glinting with light; and human forms are seen to be beautiful, even divine. The artist tunes his orchestra and sounds his prelude. Then the great piece proceeds. We are at a high music. All the thoughts of men seem to be transcended; all the experiences of men, the passion, the rapture, the sorrow, the pain, are blended and harmonized. The world seems noble and full of meaning; the heavens bend over it with conscious and palpitating stars." Read that extract over again, and note in how much of it you can substitute "minister" for "artist." To touch life with glory, to make existence seem nobly worth while, to impart the inspiring motives which shall make the hard march easy, to put exhilaration in the place of ennui and good cheer in the place of despondency—all this is the expected and possible work of the preacher of the gospel of Jesus Christ; and he can, if he will, and if he knows his gospel aright, do all this with the solid verities of the "faith of our fathers" more successfully and permanently than the Eddyites can with their metaphysical mist and moonshine of delusion and make-believe, ignoring and denying as they do the concrete facts of science, experience, and life.

Shelley. By Francis Thompson. 16mo, pp. 91. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Price, cloth, $1.

An exquisite bit of literature is this essay; and so seldom does anything appear that is real literature and really exquisite, that, when it does, it is a treasure to be prized, and all who love such products should be notified. Back in the eighties of the nineteenth century Bishop Vaughan met the poet Francis Thompson in London and suggested that he contribute an article to the Dublin Review. Thus prompted, Thompson in 1889 offered this essay on Shelley. The editor declined the article, and the discouraged author threw it aside, and it was found among his papers after his death. His literary executor offered it again to the venerable quarterly which had declined it nineteen years before, and it was published in the Dublin Review in July, 1908, with the result that for the first time in its seventy-two years the Dublin had to issue a second edition to supply the demand which clamored for copies of this masterpiece of English prose, this nest of buried jewels, posthumously brought to view and glittering in the sunlight of publicity. One capable critic notified the public with words like these: "Brilliant, joyous, poignant are these pages of interpretation, as sensitive and magical as the mind of one poet ever lent to the genius of another." It set London ringing, as would some splendid music never played till found in the portfolio of some dead composer. Thus the rejected article, which was the brilliant expression of the inward glory of Francis Thompson's youth, becomes his own rich eulogy and epitaph. The pity of the matter is that public appreciation arrives too late to comfort him. Unsuccess, poverty, and hardship made his life bitter and sorrowful, a hapless lot, full of sheer misery; and the medal of honor pinned now on his dead breast accents and intensifies the pathos of his fate. In the introduction prefixed to this essay, Mr. George Wyndham calls it "the most important contribution to pure

Letters written in English during the last twenty years. . . . Matthew Arnold's Essays in Criticism did not reach such heights. They do not, as a rule, handle subjects so pertinent to poetry; and when they do they are outclassed by this essay. . . . The only recent essay on poetry which challenges comparison with Francis Thompson's Shelley is Myers's Virgil. Thompson's style is incomparable in rhythm and profuse illustration. He is rich and melodic, where Myers is sweet and ornate. Thompson's article, though in the form of prose, is pure poetry, and is also in reality, though unconsciously, a human document of intense suffering. This is why it pierces like an arrow to the universal heart of man, and sticks and quivers there." One of Francis Thompson's affirmations is that Shelley was essentially an eternal child, the enchanted child. Listen to this: "In Shelley's poetry we see the winsome face of the child. Perhaps none of his poems is more purely and typically Shelleian than 'The Cloud,' and it is interesting to note how essentially it springs from the faculty of make-believe. The same thing is conspicuous throughout all his singing; it is the child's faculty of make-believe raised to the n^{th} power. He is ever at play. The universe is his box of toys. He dabbles his fingers in the day-fall. He is gold-dusty with tumbling amidst the stars. He makes bright mischief with the moon. The meteors nuzzle their noses in his hand. He teases into growling the kenneled thunder, and laughs at the shaking of its fiery chain. He dances in and out of the gates of heaven; its floor is littered with his broken fancies. He runs wild over the fields of ether. He chases the rolling world. He gets between the feet of the horses of the sun. He stands in the lap of patient Nature, and twines her loosened tresses after a hundred willful fashions, to see how she will look nicest in his song." What a picture of an eternal child romping with the universe! Farther on the essay returns to this point as follows: "The poems on which the lover of Shelley leans most lovingly, and which best represent Shelley to him, are some of the shorter poems and detached lyrics, in which Shelley forgets that he is anything but a poet, forgets sometimes that he is anything but a child, lies back in his skiff, and looks at the clouds. He plays truant from earth, slips through the wicket of fancy into heaven's meadow, and goes gathering stars. Here we have that absolute virgin-gold of song which is the scarcest among human products, and for which we can go to but three poets—Coleridge in 'Christabel' and 'Kubla-Khan'; Shelley in 'The Skylark,' 'The Cloud,' and 'The Sensitive Plant'; and Keats in 'The Eve of Saint Agnes' and 'The Nightingale.' These are made of quintessential loveliness, the very attar of poetry." And again, near its end, the essay reverts to the same view of Shelley: "Enchanted child, born into a world unchildlike; spoiled darling of Nature, playmate of her elemental daughters; 'pard-like spirit, beautiful and swift,' haired amidst the burning fastnesses of his own fervid mind; bold foot along the verges of precipitous dreams; light leaper from crag to crag of inaccessible fancies; towering Genius, whose soul rose like a ladder between earth and heaven with the angels of song ascending and descending upon it!" That Shelley never ceased to be a magnified child is reiterated. To the last he retained the idiosyncrasy

of childhood expanded and matured without differentiation. In his life, as in his poetry, he shows the genuine child's power of investing little things with imaginative interest. And even the errors of his life are palliated by Francis Thompson as being due to the irrationalities and unrestrained impulses of a foolish child. And it was no enmity of circumstances, but his own unreasonable and ungoverned nature that was responsible for Shelley's mistakes and unhappiness. Thompson calls "Prometheus Unbound" the greatest and most prodigal exhibition of Shelley's powers—an "amazing lyric world where immortal clarities sigh past in the perfumes of the blossoms, populate the breathings of the breeze, throng and twinkle in the leaves that twirl upon the bough; where the very grass is all a-rustle with lovely spirit-things, and a weeping mist of music fills the air. The final scenes especially are such a Bacchic reel and rout and revelry of beauty as leaves one staggered and giddy; poetry is spilt like wine and music runs to waste. The choruses sweep down the wind, tirelessly, flight after flight, till the breathless soul almost cries for respite from the unrolling splendors." It is interesting to find Francis Thompson saying that the one thing which prevents Shelley's "Adonais" from being perfect is its lack of Christian hope. Thompson can take no comfort in the prospect of a mere pantheistic immortality, "whose wan countenance," he says, "is as the countenance of a despair." A poor immortality, indeed, it is that thrusts you into the maw of Nature and circulates your dissolved elements through her veins. Thompson's essay does not ignore the evil side of Shelley's life, but thinks that through it all there was a blind and stumbling effort toward higher things. He is not considered genuinely corrupt of heart as was Byron, "through the cracks and fissures of whose heaving versification steam up perpetually the sulphurous vapors from his central iniquity." It is not believed that any Christian ever had his faith shaken through reading Shelley, unless his faith were shaken before he read Shelley. Thompson argues that no one really corrupt and carnal could write poetry so consistently ethereal as Shelley's. He says "we should believe in nothing if we believed that, for it would be the consecration of a lie. The devil can do many things. But the devil cannot write poetry. He may mar a poet but he cannot make a poet. Among all the temptations wherewith he tempted Saint Anthony, though we have often seen it stated that he howled, we have never seen it stated that he sang." Shelley's heresies were borrowed, it is claimed, from the French Revolution in a wild and frenzied period; and it is said that the religion around him was a spectral Christianity, unable to permeate and regulate human society. The radical defect which mildews our contemporary poetry in general, according to Francis Thompson, is the predominance of art over inspiration, of body over soul. Writers, even those of high aim, are overdeliberate in expression. This results in choosing the most ornate word, the word farthest from ordinary speech. In prose, Henry James is an example of this. It affects even writers who aim at simplicity, for "nothing is so artificial as our simplicity. We are self-conscious to the finger-tips; and this entails loss of spontaneity and insures that whatever poets may be born, the spirit of Shelley is not

likely to find a reincarnation among us. An age that is ceasing to produce childlike children cannot produce a Shelley." Touching on the familiar, but sometimes overlooked, fact that emotion cannot be stable, that feeling inevitably fluctuates, the essay before us says: "Even love seems to have its tidal moments, lapses, and flows. Love is an affection, its display is an emotion; love is the air, its display is the wind. An affection may be constant; an emotion can no more be constant than the wind can constantly blow." Referring to Robert Browning's wooing of Elizabeth Barrett, Francis Thompson mints this image: "Browning stooped and picked up a fair-coined soul that lay rusting in a pool of tears." In closing our notice of this brilliant essay, a literary masterpiece barely redeemed from oblivion, we must say that we are less convinced by Francis Thompson's insistence that Shelley belongs to the Metaphysical School than by his characterizing of Shelley as a child. The latter view we can accept as largely true; but an essential child is not metaphysical.

The Wrong and Peril of Woman Suffrage. By JAMES M. BUCKLEY, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 128. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, 75 cents net.

THIS is the latest output of Dr. Buckley's prolific authorship. Antecedent probability and an examination of the book unite to convince us that this is as strong and as complete an argument against woman suffrage as can be made. It is "dedicated to men and women who look before they leap"; and is a serious, solemn, and deeply earnest plea, in the interest of both sexes, for the very foundations of human well-being. So the author intends, and so the majority of readers, both men and women, will doubtless feel. Lifelong study of the subject has settled Dr. Buckley in the conviction that "to impose upon woman the burdens of government in the state would be a 'Reform against Nature' and an irreparable calamity." Four chapters review the history of woman suffrage in France, England, and the United States. Five chapters refute the arguments advanced in favor of woman suffrage. Seven chapters set in impressive array the vital objections to woman suffrage. One chapter cites and quotes from a few of the notable instances in which eminent and influential men, who for a time favored woman suffrage, were led by deeper and more serious consideration of the nature of womanhood and its relation to society to reverse their opinions. Among these are Horace Bushnell, John Bright, Herbert Spencer, Mr. Gladstone, and Bishop John H. Vincent, the founder of Chautauqua, who has distributed diplomas to thousands of women in recognition of their completing the extended course of reading and study prescribed by the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. We quote Bishop Vincent's statement of his matured judgment: "When about thirty years of age I accepted for a time the doctrine of woman suffrage, and publicly defended it. Years of wide and careful observation have convinced me that the demand for woman suffrage in America is without foundation in equity, and, if successful, must prove harmful to American society. I find some worthy women defending it, but the majority of our best women, especially our most intelligent, domestic, and godly mothers, neither ask for nor desire it. The instinct of motherhood is against it. The basal con-

viction of our best manhood is against it. The movement is at root a protest against the representative relations and functions by virtue of which each sex depends upon and is exalted by the other. This theory and policy, tending to the subversion of the natural and divine order, must make man less a man and woman less a woman. A distinguished woman advocate of this suffrage movement says, 'We need the ballot to protect us against men.' When one sex is compelled thus to protect itself against the other, the foundations of society are already crumbling. Woman now makes man what he is. She controls him as babe, boy, manly son, brother, lover, husband, father. Her influence is enormous. If she use it wisely, she needs no additional power. If she abuse her opportunity, she deserves no additional responsibility. Her womanly weight, now without measure, will be limited to the value of a single ballot, and her control over from two to five additional votes forfeited. The curse of America to-day is in the dominated partisan vote—the vote of ignorance and superstition. Shall we help matters by doubling this dangerous mass? Free from the direct complications and passions of the political arena, the best women may exert a conservative and moral influence over men as voters. Force her into the same bad atmosphere, and both man and woman must inevitably suffer incalculable loss. We know what woman can be in the 'commune,' in 'riots,' and on the 'rostrum.' Woman can, through the votes of men, have every right to which she is entitled. All she has man has gladly given her. It is his glory to represent her. To rob him of this right is to weaken both. He and she are just now in danger through his mistaken courtesy." The argument presented by Dr. Buckley in this book is more complete and cogent than that which he made in the Century Magazine some years ago, which Senator George F. Hoar called "the strongest ever made against suffrage for women." Dr. Buckley closes his powerful book, and we our quotations therefrom, with what he calls his creed: "As the suffrage is but one of several subjects related to woman's rights and privileges, it is due to the writer, as well as to the reader, to state his creed concerning woman. *I believe* that for many ages woman has been grievously oppressed, and that in various parts of the world she is still oppressed. I believe that woman's intellectual powers are equal to those of man; that the same faculties and tendencies exist in both sexes, and that some of them are the same in strength, while others differ in strength and rapidity of action; that nature gave to woman as one of her most important functions that of refining man; and that as woman is the chief guardian and teacher of children from their birth, she is naturally endowed with greater quickness of the senses, of thought, speech, and watchfulness. I believe in coeducation for some young men and women and in separate education for others, the selection depending on the special characteristics of each, and in the higher education of woman and rejoice to promote it—provided that the normal dissimilarity in the constitution of the sexes—'a difference but not a scale of inferiority or superiority'—is not ignored or underestimated. If that be not recognized, the proper characterization of such culture is the *lower* education. *I believe* in woman's right to enter and practice the

professions; and see no incongruity in her speaking in any assembly which gives her the right so to do—provided she preserves her womanly delicacy. *I believe* in woman's being athletic, and that it is wise for her to use all healthful exercises in preparation for her numberless burdens. But should she become as strong as the legendary Amazons, I would not have her join the army or the navy. On similar principles I would have her cultivate and enrich her mind to the highest degree compatible with her situation and responsibilities; but for the reasons given in this book, *I believe* that neither the state, the family nor woman herself would be benefited, but, on the contrary, would be injured, if she were invested with the suffrage. *I believe* that there are two objects in nature alike obnoxious —a mannish woman and a womanish man; also in the wisdom as well as the wit of the toast offered at a banquet, a day after woman suffrage went into effect in one of the states of the Union: 'The Ladies: *Our superiors yesterday, our equals to-day.*'" Whoever reads Dr. Buckley's book will not need to read any other book on that side of the subject.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Recollections. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. Crown 8vo, pp. 434. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, cloth, $2.

IN May, 1909, at the age of seventy-three, Dr. Gladden writes: "The record of the family Bible, and the reflection of gray hairs in the looking-glass, would make out that with me it is late October; but the tingle in my blood and the scenery of the garden and the heart insist that it is 'the high tide of the year.'" Nevertheless, this youthful veteran has reached the time when life is mostly retrospect, and when reminiscences bloom like purple asters along the country roadside in November. He says his story is that of an average American who, living through momentous decades, has been a sympathetic observer of men and things and who in this volume records some of his observations. Such records and comments, made by a capable reporter of and participator in events, are usually of interest both to those who, with him, have lived through the same period, and to the younger generation coming after. Recalling his school days, the author pays this tribute to one of his teachers: "His power of arousing and inspiring students, of appealing to all that was best in them, of making fine ideals of conduct attractive to them, was quite exceptional. He found me a listless and lazy pupil; he left me with a zest for study and a firm purpose of self-improvement. It was a clear case of conversion, and when anyone tells me that character cannot be changed through the operation of spiritual forces I know better." One of the author's college mates at Williams was Henry M. Alden, afterward editor of Harper's Monthly, of whom it is here written: "Alden's forte was metaphysics; he was supposed to be occupied mainly with interests purely transcendental, absorbed in investigating the 'Thingness of the Here'"—which recalls a verse of Louis Stevenson's "Spae Wife":

> O, I wad like to ken—to the beggar-wife says I—
> The reason o' the cause an' the wherefore o' the why,
> Wi' mony anither riddle brings the tear into my e'e.
> —*It's gey an' easy spierin'*, says the beggar-wife to me.

Yes, it's easy to ask questions; but to answer—there's the rub. Yet the mind that doesn't question searchingly never gets anywhere. Dr. Gladden says that "if the Harpers had come to Williamstown in the late fifties inquiring for a young man who would be a skillful purveyor of short stories and poems and sketches for a popular magazine, the last student to whom they would have been sent was Henry Mills Alden. . . . Just how Alden ever got down from cloudland to an editorial chair in Franklin Square I have never been able to find out, but it is well for the world that he came, and perhaps the world has been the gainer by his early residence in cloudland. We get our best training for work in this world by living above it." In 1860 Gladden became pastor of the First Congregational Methodist Church in Brooklyn, New York, a little company of seceders from the Methodist fold because of a quarrel about a minister—a foolhardy and foredoomed enterprise, which recalls Dr. Whedon's sarcastic phrase, "An infant reprobate, damned before it was born." With the usual fatuity of such foolish folk, this handful of malcontents called an untrained boy named Washington Gladden to take charge of them. The boy, looking back with the wisdom of riper years, writes: "I am entirely sure now that this was a place where angels would have feared to tread; that was why I rushed in." How slavery was defended as late as 1860 even by some Northern men appears in the following incident: "One sermon which was preached in one of the most conspicuous pulpits of the city, during that summer, raised some excitement. The preacher was the Reverend Henry J. van Dyke, one of the most honored and influential of the Presbyterian pastors, father of Dr. Henry van Dyke of Princeton University, and the sermon was a closely reasoned and forcible argument to prove that abolitionism and infidelity were synonymous terms; that no man could be an abolitionist without being an infidel. The argument, of course, was scriptural; it was easy to show that slavery was a biblical institution; that the holders of slaves had in many cases been inspired men; and that laws under the imprimatur of Jehovah himself had enjoined slavery. This was a demonstration that God had made himself responsible for the institution, and that opposition to it was rebellion against him. The logic was relentless; the conclusion was one of many monstrous results, which, upon the assumption of the inerrant authority of the whole Scripture, are inescapable. It was tragical to see a man of the acumen of Dr. van Dyke writhing in the coils of such a conception." Of Emerson's manner in lecturing, Gladden says: "His manner was so quiet and deliberate, there was so little of what is called 'oratory,' that most of the audience voted it tame. His manuscript was a pile of loose leaves, which he fumbled over and turned back quite frequently, sometimes losing his place. On an occasion in Boston the audience waited a minute or two while he shuffled his leaves. At last he found the sentence he was hunting for—the

last sentence of his lecture. One auditor remarked to another, 'We had to wait a long time for that last sentence, but it was worth waiting for.'" The writer of this book notice once had to introduce Emerson and chaperone him through a lecture. Now and then the lecturer in pushing his leaves about would shove some of them off the desk. Sailing off through the air, they lit here and there on the platform. Part of the chaperon's function was to pick them up and replace them on the desk. Of Robert Bonner, proprietor of the New York Ledger, Dr. Gladden tells us that, though the literary quality of that paper may not have been of the highest, it was the owner's purpose to keep it pure. Bonner said: "I tell all my editors that nothing must ever appear in our paper that would trouble my Scotch Presbyterian mother if she should read it after prayer meeting." In 1871 Gladden came to New York as one of the editors of The Independent. Speaking of notable frequenters of the editorial sanctum, our narrator says: "A fresh and piquant personality who often enkindled our spirits by his presence was the Reverend Gilbert Haven, afterward bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a man with whom it was delightful to disagree, and who had the happy faculty of stating with perspicuity the things which you knew you did not wish to believe. To few men do I owe a larger debt than to some who have put clearly before my mind the things which I knew to be untrue. It would be unfair to 'Gil' Haven, as we then familiarly named him, to leave the matter here. I suppose that I agreed with him in ten matters where I disagreed in one; but there were various theological questions on which our differences were sharp, and his delightfully incisive and perfectly good-natured way of defining those differences was extremely serviceable." Of the Brooklyn pulpit in the seventies Dr. Gladden writes: "The popularity of Mr. Beecher was still undimmed; it was difficult to gain admission to his church at any preaching service. Dr. R. S. Storrs had taken a new lease of preaching power, and his audiences, though less thronged, were enthralled by his majestic eloquence. Talmage was at the top of his fame; his great tabernacle was always crowded, and his unparalleled acrobatics, physical and rhetorical, were an astonishment to many." In 1878, Dr. Gladden, then a pastor in Springfield, Massachusetts, added to his work as pastor the editorship of a monthly published there, named Sunday Afternoon, a Magazine for the Household, the principal purpose of which was to discuss such practical problems as were indicated in the editor's prospectus thus: "How to mix Christianity with human affairs; how to bring salvation to the people who need it most; how to make peace between the employer and the workman; how to help the poor without pauperizing them; how to remove the curse of drunkenness; how to get the church into closer relations with the people to whom Christ preached the gospel; how to keep our religion from degenerating into art, or evaporating into ecstasy, or stiffening into dogmatism, and to make it a regenerating force in human society—these are some of the questions to be asked and answered." A pretty urgent list of questions, now as then. When Gladden moved from the hill country of New England to Columbus, Ohio, he was for a time depressed by the change of scenery. Hear him: "The hills to which I had

been wont to lift up my eyes, and from which had often come my help, were nowhere in sight; the flatness and monotony of the landscape were a perpetual weariness. I put all this out of my thought as much as I could, but, at first, it was hard to bear. The time came when this craving ceased to give me pain, and I have learned to take great pleasure in the quieter beauty of these fertile plains and river-bottoms, and can now fully understand why the Hollanders find a keen delight in their own flat country, and why *the artistic impulse has flourished there far more splendidly than in Switzerland;* but nothing of this was credible to me in those first months in Columbus." In 1893 Dr. Gladden was the Yale lecturer on the Lyman Beecher Foundation, the lectures being published under the title, "Tools and the Man: Property and Industry under the Christian Law." He also gave a course of lectures at our Drew Theological Seminary on "Christianity and Socialism." Discussing the Negro problem as it stands to-day, Dr. Gladden says: "If the main thing to be done for the Negro is to keep him in ignorance and subjection, that is a task which requires no great amount of art—nothing but hard hearts and brutal wills. There is physical force enough in the nation to hold him down for a while; how long that dominion would last I will not try to tell. The civilization built on that basis will fall, and great will be the fall of it. We have had our admonition already—a war that cost six hundred thousand lives and twelve billions of dollars—and the bills are not paid yet. That is a slice of the retribution due for trying to build a civilization on prostrate manhood. If we are not satisfied with that, if we insist on trying the same experiment over again in a slightly different form, another day of judgment will come, and will not tarry. We shall get it hammered into our heads one of these days that this is a moral universe; not that it is going to be, by and by, but that it is moral now, moral all through, in tissue and fiber, in gristle and bone, in muscle and brain, in sensation and thought; and that no injustice fails to get its due recompense, now and here. The moral law admonishes us not to make our fellow man our tool, our tributary. 'Thou shalt treat humanity'—it is Kant's great saying—'ever as an end, never as a means to thine own selfish end.' Disobey that law, and the consequence falls. Evade it no man ever does for so long as the wink of an eyelid. Its penalty smites him with lightning stroke; he is instantly degraded, beclouded, weakened by his disobedience. Virtue has gone out of him; the slow decay is at work by which his manhood is despoiled. The same law holds in all realms. It is as sure and stern in its dealing with races as with persons. The stronger race that tries to treat the weaker not as an end, but as a means to its own selfish ends, plucks swift judgment from the skies upon its own head. On such a race there will surely fall the mildew of moral decay, the pestilence of social corruption, the blight of its civilization. This is not Northern fanaticism. It is a truth which has been uttered more than once, with the emphasis of conviction, by strong men in the South. It is not the view which prevails there to-day, but it is a view which is held there by a strong minority of the ablest men, and it must prevail. There are men at the South to-day who know and say that the task which the Negro presents to the South

and the nation is not the task of keeping him in subjection, but the task of lifting him to manhood and giving him the rights and responsibilities that belong to a man. 'The best Southern people,' says President Alderman, of the University of Virginia, 'are too wise not to know that posterity will judge them according to the wisdom they use in this great concern. They are too just not to know that there is but one thing to do with a human being, and that is to give him a chance.'" Dr. Gladden quotes also the wise and noble words of President Kilgo, of Trinity College, North Carolina, on behalf of the Negro: "He lifts his dusky face to the face of his superior, and asks why he may not be given the right to grow as well as dogs and horses and cows. For a superior race to hold down an inferior one that the superior race may have the services of the inferior was the social doctrine of mediævalism. Americans cannot explain why they shudder at the horrors of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and are themselves content to keep the weak in their weakness in order that the strong may rule better." Dr. Gladden has no sympathy with the demand for a big navy. He believes that the day of disarmament among the nations is nigh, and that our nation is called of God to take the initiative in it. He also is not blind to Theodore Roosevelt's limitations. Yet he calls him "the most forceful figure yet seen in our national history," and he says no other man has done so much to promote peace on earth, citing in evidence "that glorious deed by which he put an end to the war between Russia and Japan; the return of the indemnity money to China; the convention with Japan, negotiated by Elihu Root, but giving expression to Roosevelt's good will." Dr. Gladden wonders whether any man with such tremendous energies as Roosevelt's, always in full play, ever made fewer mistakes; and he is sure that "no other man since Lincoln has poured into the life of this nation such a stream of vitalizing influence." Speaking of the conditions which Mr. Roosevelt faced, at the beginning of his administration, the author says: "Vast combinations of wealth, created by the law and endowed with superhuman powers, were using these powers for purposes of spoliation—plundering the many for the enrichment of the few. To disentangle this piratical business from honest business, to protect legitimate enterprise and prevent and punish predatory schemes—this was the task set before him. Clearly, this must somehow be done; unless it could be, democratic government was a failure. And Mr. Roosevelt addressed himself to this Herculean task with a courage, a determination, and an enthusiasm which have won for him the admiration of the world. The men who have been making enormous fortunes by piratical methods, and those who have wished to do so, have been greatly enraged by Mr. Roosevelt's activity; they hate him with a perfect hatred, and with honest cause; they have done what they could to discredit and destroy him. But the people know that he has made no war on honest industry; that he has only sought to put an end to plunder and to give every man a fair chance. The Roosevelt policies are fairly well understood by the people, and any attempt to recede from them will provoke a reaction which will not be profitable to the opposing interests. The Roosevelt policies mean simply honesty, justice, fair play; and any business which

is too big to learn those lessons is too big to live in this country. . . . We had laws enough to prevent all these robberies; they were practically a dead letter; it was the will of Theodore Roosevelt that gave them life and power." We end our quotations from Dr. Gladden's interesting book with this bit: "We hear people, in these days, denying the supernatural. It is a little as if the planets should proclaim that there is no such thing as space, or as if the rivers should declare that there is no such thing as water. We cannot lay our hand on life anywhere without feeling the thrill of that SOMETHING MORE which underlies all law and eludes all physical analysis." A stirring and gladdening collection of recollections is this volume.

A Memoir of the Right Honorable William Edward Hartpole Lecky. By his Wife. Crown 8vo. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, with portrait, $2.50, net.

THE finest of recent biographies in America is that of Alice Freeman Palmer by her husband. One of the finest of recent biographies in England is this memoir of W. E. H. Lecky by his wife. Both books are models of good taste, sincerity, discretion, and moderation; though the former is a more intimate revealing, and has the greater charm and the more vivid warmth, which is partly due, no doubt, to the fact that it is a woman's life. Lecky's life was an extraordinary example of carefully economized forces. A fair, quiet, gentle, studious boy, with intellectual tastes, there was nothing of the riotous young barbarian in him. He was so sensitive that the rough contacts of school life sometimes drove him to distraction, and harsh city noises were a distress to him all his life. A lifelong student, he often took his books and hid away somewhere, far from everybody he knew; and especially, he says, "in long solitary mountain walks I calmed my mind and systematized my thoughts." A very significant phrase is that—"systematizing my thoughts"—no discipline of the mind is more important. It gave to Lecky's writing and speaking the qualities of clarity, consecutiveness, and a sense of proportion. The power to systematize one's thoughts distinguishes the master from the tyro. Only he who has, by self-training, acquired such mastery and orderliness of mind can properly be called a thinker. The best way of acquiring this power is to write or to prepare for public speaking. Then a man is compelled to arrange his thoughts by some rule or principle of rational coördination. The men who have to speak in public or to write are under necessity of systematizing their thoughts and have the best possible opportunity for becoming thinkers. Lecky was fond of oratory, and liked to take the opposite side in an argument. One of his devices for stimulating the brain was to write *kneeling* on a sofa, in order to shut off circulation from the lower limbs and so force more blood to his head. At twenty-two he had written his History of Rationalism, and at thirty his History of European Morals, and had a permanent place among great historians. His History of England in the Eighteenth Century came later. His last book was made up of moral meditations and reflections, and entitled The Map of Life. That this great scholar did not believe in being all head and no heart, appears in this criticism:

"Some people are mere aspiring intellects, like the pictures of cherubims by the old masters—heads and wings and nothing more." In early life his head was very full of theology and he inclined toward a clerical career, but for this his too delicate physique unfitted him. The faith that was in the young scholar speaks in a letter from the top of the Rigi: "The evidences of Christianity are irresistible. . . . I believe that it is a man's duty to prove his creed, to seek for truth reverently, humbly, and sincerely, praying for the guidance of the enlightening Spirit, and, by good works, seeking for himself the fulfillment of the promise, 'He that doeth the will of my Father shall know the doctrine, whether it be of God.'" When friends suggested to young Lecky the law as a profession he responded: "I have no interest in it. I should hate doing people's quarrels for them; and the very highest position for a lawyer—Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench—would, I should think, be intolerable." Like other sensitive and conscientious workmen, Lecky had his fits of dissatisfaction with his work, and moments of discouragement. Once he wrote, "As a writer I have failed so egregiously, utterly, and hopelessly that I have lost almost every particle of confidence and courage I ever possessed." But he struggled out of that Slough of Despond, and not very long after, with chastened self-confidence, steadier purpose, and more patient persistence, he began the laborious though congenial task of writing his History of Rationalism. Shortly after this he wrote to a friend: "Those who *try to do their duty* find in the effort its own reward; it dispels every fear, it dispenses with restless ambition. Not all can be great teachers, preachers, or philanthropists, but all, if they labor honestly and self-sacrificingly, can do something in two great fields of duty—the alleviation of sorrow and the correction of error." Once he told a friend, "So far, I have never succeeded in being even approximately happy, except when working hard." In Rome Lecky heard Dupanloup of Orleans preach to enormous crowds, and wrote, "He preaches like a charge of cavalry, very fiery, but sometimes very touchingly, and sometimes in an odd, familiar, discursive style." On the progress toward materialism in France, Lecky once wrote, "The French are at present discussing with terrific energy the question whether they are mind or matter, and (under the guidance of Renan, Littré, and Taine) are coming very rapidly to the conclusion that they are only matter." Even when his History of Rationalism had been completed and was making him famous, Lecky wrote, in a fit of disgust due to reaction from prolonged effort, "I am so sick of writing. It is dreary, frigid occupation. I feel like throwing pen, ink, and paper into the fire." Lecky's pen had a sharp point. When some criticism of his views appeared in The Anthropological Review, he referred to it as "a review set up, I believe, by some scientific gentlemen who say they are monkeys." He tells us Carlyle's characterization of August Comte as "the ghastliest algebraic factor that ever was taken for a man." Lecky tells us that Herbert Spencer was very confident when he was writing his Sociology that it would be a complete explanation of life; but while explaining life Spencer quite forgot the existence of domestic relations, and had to put them in as an after-

thought, and then try to explain that apparently unimportant part of human life, which, of course, he did as completely as he explained the rest. Believing as he did in the inferiority of woman, the place of the home in human society naturally did not, for a long time, occur to Spencer; still, a gentleman who proposes to make a complete explanation of life would do well to take the women and the home into his account. The world has been overburdened with explanations that did not explain; and ambitious philosophers like Spencer have furnished a large proportion of the same. Huxley was another very positive and downright old dogmatist who held strongly that men are greatly superior to women, not only intellectually, but also morally, and in point of personal beauty; which, Lecky thinks, "must be very consolatory to us men." What ungallant old curmudgeons some of these "scientific gents" are! Lecky was by nature and by conviction an intuitive philosopher, and the belief in an original and innate moral faculty was the keynote of his life. When some of his constituents of Trinity College, Dublin, inquired concerning his religious creed, he replied, "I am a Christian," and declined to go into particulars. Lecky spent much time in Italy. Writing to a friend from Naples in 1870, he gives this story about Pope Pius IX: "People at Rome were a good deal amused and rather scandalized at an odd proceeding of the Pope's about six weeks ago. A hideous little African bishop, all speckled with smallpox, was presented to him, and the Pope asked what language he spoke, and was told that the bishop neither spoke nor understood any but his own. Whereupon the Pope said in Italian, in a solemn tone as if he was giving a benediction, 'Then since you do not understand me, I may say this is the ugliest son of Christ I have ever seen.'" About the decree of papal infallibility, after its proclamation by the Council, Lecky wrote: "By committing itself to the infallibility of the long line of Popes, the Roman Church cut itself off from the historical spirit and from the learning of our age, and exposed itself to crushing and unanswerable refutations." And again he said: "Catholicism is rapidly becoming incredible to all intelligent minds. The prospects of Protestantism are better than they have ever been since the end of the sixteenth century. All political changes tend to make Protestant nations more and more the magnets and the rulers of the world; and the infallibility decree is sending large numbers of Romanists in the same direction." After the close of the Franco-Prussian war, which the Vatican helped to precipitate, Lecky wrote: "I think that the calm, patriotic, unboastful enthusiasm which the Germans have shown, their manifest love of peace, and their simple piety in the hour of victory, have been very noble. . . . France was utterly wrong in the war, and she began it with an amount of boasting and of lying that was revolting to the last degree." Of the Irish, this historian said, "The most affectionate, imaginative, and quick-witted race I have ever known." Lecky was troubled over "the secularization of Oxford—chapel no longer compulsory, the truth of Christianity, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul made subjects of unrestricted dispute. A strange seething is going on, and when one considers that the present of its universities is in great

measure the future of a nation one is perplexed to think what is coming." In illustration of the absurdities of Episcopalianism we are told of the Anglican bishop, Phillpotts, who maintained that in cemeteries it was essential that there should be a wall at least four feet high between the Episcopalian and the non-Episcopalian corpses. Lecky did not enjoy being in politics. He said, "I have neither the business faculty nor the callousness required for such a career." The seven years when he was sitting in the British Parliament as member from Trinity College, Dublin, were hardly happy ones. In the winter of 1895 he writes a friend: "The work is physically very tiring, and I often feel that a good deal of it might be done equally well, with a little training, by a fairly intelligent poodle dog." This great historian died quietly sitting in his library, October 22, 1903. At Nuremberg in 1875 he saw on a tomb this epitaph: "I will arise, O God, when thou callest me, but let me rest a while, for I am very weary." In his commonplace book on the last day of the year Lecky once wrote: "I am thinking of the prayer of the Breton sailors, 'My God, my God, help me: the sea is so great and my bark is so small!' The sea of thought, the sea of life, the sea of death—." But he hoped to see his Pilot face to face when he had crossed the bar.

The German Element in the United States By Albert Bernhardt Faust. Two volumes, 8vo. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. Price, $7.50.

There are few subjects of more intense interest or historical value than the investigation of the various racial elements that enter into the makeup of the so-called American nation. Never in the world's history has such a strange conglomeration of various races been brought together in such a short space of time. What the final result of such a mingling of different national characteristics will be no one can prophesy. At any rate, it is a satisfaction to know that the vast majority of such elements belong to the various forms of the Teutonic race, English, Dutch, and German. The story of the English and Dutch contributions to our national life and history has been often told; that of the German element has not been discussed in the same thorough way until comparatively recent times. We already have had the valuable books from such men as Seidensticker, Löher, Kapp, and especially the various volumes of the Pennsylvania German Society. In this way we have had a pretty full discussion of one narrow element in the United States, that of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch. These people, as everyone knows, are the descendants of the Germans and Swiss who immigrated to Pennsylvania before the American Revolution, and later overflowed into Virginia, North and South Carolina, Maryland, and the West. In the crucible of the Revolution they were completely Americanized, although many still retain their dialect and quaint religious and social customs. The later immigrations of Germans, those of the nineteenth century, have never up to the present been investigated with the same thoroughness as those of the Pennsylvania Dutch. Happily, this state of things no longer exists, and we have in the present volume what may be called a definitive discussion of the whole subject of the influence of the Germans on our national life, from

the earliest times down to the present. The book itself in its original form was submitted in competition for one of three prizes, offered in 1901 by Mrs. Catherine Seipp, of Chicago, for the best monographs on the German element in the United States. The first prize, of three thousand dollars, was awarded to the author, Professor A. B. Faust of Cornell University. Few men were better prepared to undertake this work than Professor Faust. Born in this country of German parents, using both English and German with equal facility, a graduate of Johns Hopkins University, for many years in charge of the German department at Wesleyan University, and at present in the same department at Cornell University, he has had unusual opportunities for pursuing his investigations. Add to this his indomitable industry, logical habits of mind, clear and interesting style, and the fact that for ten years he has been actively engaged in the work of investigating the influence of the Germans in this country, and we are not surprised that his book was awarded the first prize. This feeling is intensified as we look over these handsome volumes, with their numerous illustrations. The enormous mass of material has been carefully sifted and arranged under appropriate headings, volume one being devoted to the historical outline of the subject, while volume two covers the *culturhistorische* part. Taking up the first volume, we see pass before us the various streams of German immigration: those to the Mohawk and Schoharie Valleys in New York State; the vast movement that made Pennsylvania almost Teutonic in its characteristics; the secondary migrations from Pennsylvania to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas; and the later streams, grouped together in Chapters XII to XV, under the general title of "The Winning of the West." In this same volume is likewise given the military record of the Germans in the Revolution and the wars of the nineteenth century. Volume two discusses the general influence on the various phases of American industrial, social, religious, and political life. On the material side we have discussions of the prominence of the Germans in agriculture, mining, manufacture of iron and steel, musical instruments, naval architecture, and a dozen other lines of work. Chapter IV discusses the political influence of the German element, while a similar discussion of the same influence on education forms the subject of Chapter V. Both these chapters tend to dispel many false impressions hitherto entertained in respect to the German-Americans. The religious life of the Germans and their influence on American denominations is not treated as fully as we should like, only twenty pages being devoted to that subject in volume two, in connection with the "joy of living," "philanthropy," "German American Women" and "German Traits," all grouped together in Chapter VIII under the general title of "Social and Moral Influence of the German Element." Taking the book as a whole, it can be most heartily recommended. It is scholarly, interesting, and contains the results not merely of work done by others but of a large amount of original investigation on the part of the author. It is the best general treatment of the subject thus far produced in this or any other country.

METHODIST REVIEW

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Art. I.—JOHN HENRY NEWMAN: HOW HE FOUND A LIGHT AMID THE ENCIRCLING GLOOM

While the subject of this study was yet a lad, he read Newton On the Prophecies. The impression left on his mind by the book was that the Pope of Rome was unquestionably the Antichrist predicted by the biblical writers. The sentiment was of a piece with the modified Calvinism in which already his youthful mind had been steeped. Fourteen or fifteen years later than this, just after he had paid a visit to the Imperial City and while he was recovering from a serious illness at Palermo, he voiced his feelings in the wish, "O that thy creed were sound, thou Church of Rome!" Early in 1840 he published an article in the British Critic in which he wrote:

> We see Rome attempting to gain converts among us by unreal representations of its doctrines, plausible statements, and bold assertions. . . . We see its agents, smiling and nodding and ducking to attract attention as gypsies make up to truant boys, holding out tales for the nursery, and pretty pictures, and gilt ginger-bread, and physic concealed in jam, and sugar-plums for good children. . . . We Englishmen like manliness, openness, consistency, truth.

On January 8, 1845, Newman wrote a letter to a lady who afterward became a Nun of the Visitation. The letter contains the following clauses:

> The simple question is, Can *I* (it is personal, not whether another, but can *I*) be saved in the English Church? Am *I* in safety, were I to die to-night? is it a mortal sin in *me*, not joining another [the Roman] communion?

Years later, in a sermon, he speaks of the religion of "The Catholic Roman Church" in such a strain as this:

> She has adoringly surveyed our Lord, feature by feature, and has paid a separate homage to him in every one. She has made us honor his five wounds, his precious blood, and his sacred heart. . . . She has sought out and placed before us the memorials of his life and death: his crib and holy house; his holy tunic; the handkerchief of Saint Veronica; the cross and its nails; his winding-sheet, and the napkin for his head.

And again, in the *Apologia,* he writes:

> I did not believe the doctrine of transubstantiation till I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it as soon as I believed that the Catholic Roman Church was the oracle of God, and that she had declared this doctrine to be part of the original revelation.

And he whose spiritual struggles and experiences are indicated by the foregoing paragraphs, writing of it all in an autobiography that will never cease to claim its readers, tells us that the struggle ended with "perfect peace and contentment," and that, safe in the bosom of Mother Church, he felt as the storm-tossed mariner feels when he drops his anchor in the sheltered haven.

To trace at greater length the steps by which one who began his career with the conviction that the Pope was Antichrist eventually reached the other conviction, that that same Pope was vested with the most regal powers by God himself, may prove to be a task not altogether wanting in interest and instruction. Nor is the task without a certain element of pathos, for it reveals the sight of a great soul and an earnest wrestling grimly with haunting doubt, at last ceasing the struggle less by solving the real questions at issue than by submitting to their arbitrary solution by another. No proper appreciation of the mental movement of Newman can be arrived at apart from a knowledge of the facts of his life. The transition from Calvinism through Anglicanism to Romanism was not made suddenly. The whole sweep of his life for at least a quarter of a century was in the direction of Rome. His friendships and his historical studies united with his temperamental peculiarities in such a way as to make the retractation and the resignation of 1843, and the Romish ordination of 1846, appear to be the logical and even the inevitable outcome of all that had gone before. In Newman's case the inner life and the outward circum-

stances are vitally connected. They admit of no separation if we would understand the tragedy of his life. The source from which must ever be drawn any true insight into the character of Newman must, of course, always be the fascinating *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. In January of 1864 Charles Kingsley published in Macmillan's Magazine a review of Froude's History of England. In this article the author made the statement that "truth for its own sake had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and, on the whole, ought not, to be." It was because of this and similar attacks that Newman brought himself to the preparation of the *Apologia*. The book was eagerly received by a curious and not too friendly public. It produced a remarkable sensation. The least it did was to exhibit the evident sincerity of its author. It was absolutely incredible that there should be any conscious duplicity in the nature of a man who could lay bare the inmost recesses of his soul with such chaste boldness as was displayed on every page of this autobiography. The task was one from which Newman might well have shrank. Evangelical, Laudian, Romanist—he had been all three in turn, and he had to show a skeptical public that he had sought the truth in each changing situation. The book has little proselytizing power—Newman expressly declares that it was not written to expound Roman doctrine; but as a great human document, compelling the attention if not the admiration of the reader, and often touching the heart while yet the intellect remains as adamant, it takes second place to but few books of its class.

John Henry Newman was born in London on February 21, 1801. The boy was in some measure the earnest of the man. "In my early years I was very superstitious" is a remark he makes about himself, which some may think applicable to his later years. Under the guidance of his mother, when he was fifteen years of age he believed he experienced "conviction of sin" and "conversion." At this time, and for some years later, Newman says that he was firmly convinced of his election to eternal glory. While still a boy he read Paine's Tracts Against the Old Testament, Hume's Essays, Law's Serious Call, Joseph Milner's Church History, with its long extracts from the fathers, and, as indicated above, Newton

On the Prophecies. It was now, too, in his attempts to imitate Addison, Johnson, and Gibbon, that he laid the foundations of a style which later was to bring him fame. On December 14, 1816, Newman entered himself at Trinity College, Oxford. In 1818 he won a valuable Trinity scholarship. He graduated in 1820, and two years later was elected Fellow of Oriel. This is a fact to be noted, for it meant that Oxford could now be his permanent home. In 1826 he was given a tutorship at Oriel, and this made his circumstances yet more comfortable, besides throwing him more fully into the life of the university. The ten years covered by this brief recital were full of other momentous experiences, and these demand our attention. Early in his college career Newman became dissatisfied with the gloomy creed in which he had been nurtured. Calvinism did not fit the facts; the evangelical teaching did not satisfy; the old positions must be abandoned. Perhaps the most potent factor in Newman's life at this period was his friendships. To them must be attributed no small share of the influences which led him to some of his later decisions. And what friends he had —Hurrell Froude, Keble, Whately, Edward Hawkins, Pusey! Froude's admiration of Rome was equaled only by his hatred of the Reformation. An authoritative hierarchy he could understand, but never an authoritative Book. All the peculiarities of the mediæval church—tradition, celibacy, miracle, penance, mortification, the Real Presence—found in Froude a zealous defender. And with such a man the impressionable Newman was in the closest daily contact. Froude said that the best thing he ever did was when he brought Newman and Keble to understand each other. It was Keble's sermon on "National Apostasy" which we shall see later really started the Tractarian movement. Without Keble, says Newman, the movement never would have been. It was from the author of The Christian Year that he got the two ideas, (1) that the sacramental system accords with the conception that the material is the type and the instrument of the real unseen; and (2) that the strength of a doctrine depends not so much upon its intrinsic probability as upon the power of the faith and love which accepts the doctrine. He may have got some assistance toward the first idea from Butler as well. The second he later renounced on

the ground that it was not logical. Whately's influence over Newman was confined chiefly to the years 1822-26. We are told that it was Whately who taught him how to think and to use his reason. Here, too, he got the conception that the church was a substantive corporation, with her own peculiar powers, rights, and prerogatives. It was largely owing to impressions he received from Whately that Newman became so amenable to the influence of Keble. Edward Hawkins was vicar of Saint Mary's at the time Newman won the Oriel fellowship. His influence over the young scholar's mind was very marked, especially in connection with the doctrine of Holy Scripture. Under his guidance Newman exchanged the evangelical conception of the Bible for the conception that the Bible must be interpreted by tradition. In 1828 Hawkins was elected over Keble as provost of Oriel and Newman became vicar of St. Mary's. The year following, as the result of a disagreement with the provost, Newman lost his tutorship. Writing of the event later, he said, "Humanly speaking, the Oxford movement never would have been had I not been deprived of the tutorship, or had Keble, not Hawkins, been provost." Pusey was made an Oriel Fellow in 1823, and his friendship with Newman dates from that time. No leader of the Oxford movement has received more vilification than has he, and none was more able than was he. He gave the movement a certain strength which first forced its recognition by other parties in the university. Especially did he change the character of the tracts. "He saw that there ought to be more sobriety, more gravity, more careful pains, more sense of responsibility in the tracts and in the whole movement."

But besides the influence exerted upon Newman by his friends was the influence exerted upon him by his studies of the fathers and his investigations of heresies. He began to read the fathers seriously during the long vacation of 1828, with a view to writing a book on the Arians. The Alexandrians, Origen, Clement, and Dionysius had a special attraction for him, so much so that he was himself called "a Greek of Alexandria." In connection with this study, Newman read the works of Bishop Bull, and the two combined led him to believe that the Church of England, to be a true church, must have antiquity for her basis. The volume on

the Arians was published at the close of 1833, and immediately made its author's mark as a writer. The real significance of the book, however, is its indication of what was taking place in Newman's own mind, for it contains the startling statement that "to spare an heresiarch is a false and dangerous pity"—a statement which led to his being accused of wishing to reëstablish the Inquisition. The truth is that Newman was already beginning to hate anything which threatened the corporate unity of the church. At his hand was the Establishment, dissected by the great liberalizing elements. His studies revealed to him a primitive church, fresh, vigorous, whole. Of that church—the Church Catholic and Apostolic—his own church was nothing but the local presence and organ. *Unless she was this she was nothing, and to make her this there must be a second Reformation.*

Another influential factor in Newman's spiritual upheaval was his trip to the south of Europe, begun in December of 1832 with Hurrell Froude, who was going in search of health. During this trip he wrote a great deal of poetry, most of it expressive of his frame of mind respecting the church. He left Froude at Marseilles and went on alone to Rome. The city itself enamored him, but he found its religion "polytheistic, degrading, and idolatrous." He was detained at Palermo by a serious illness, but was convinced that he would recover, since he had not sinned against light and had a work to do in England. It was now that he wrote the expression referred to above—"O that thy creed were sound, thou Church of Rome!" Leaving Palermo, he traveled by boat back to Marseilles, and on the way wrote his great hymn, "Lead, kindly Light!" In a few days he was in England again, and on the first Sunday following his return, July 14, 1833, Keble preached at Oxford the epochal sermon on "National Apostasy," concerning which Newman wrote: "I have ever considered and kept the day as the start of the religious movement of 1833." "Erasmus laid the egg, and Luther hatched it." The ideas inspired by Keble and fostered by Froude were now to be brought to full fruition by Newman. A five days' consultation took place in the vicarage at Hadleigh, and in this meeting the plan of the Oxford movement took definite shape. Apostolic succession and the integrity of the

Prayer Book were to be fought for, and the ideas of the party were to be disseminated by a series of tracts. In connection with the plan, Newman immediately began to preach his famous four o'clock sermons at Saint Mary's. Thus originated the party which eventually clashed not only with the church from which it sprang but even with the very nation itself. For ten years Newman, whose intense convictions gave rise to an equally intense enthusiasm, was the soul of the party. Especially in his tracts did he call into play his splendid powers of expression. He made the British Critic, of which he became editor in 1838, the organ of the movement. Contemporaries bear united testimony to his remarkable influence at this period. "It was almost," says Professor Shairp, "as if some Ambrose or Augustine had reappeared"; and J. A. Froude declares that "compared with him all the rest were but as ciphers, and he the indicating number." The "Essay on Justification" was published in 1837. It is a sufficient indication both of the character of the writing and of the trend of Newman's mind to say that he himself tells us that the Essay was "aimed at the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith as the cardinal doctrine of Christianity." The first threatened collision with ecclesiastical authority was when in 1838 Newman's bishop publicly expressed himself against the tracts. Newman could not bear the thought of offending his superior and offered to stop the tracts at once if the bishop wished. Whatever the bishop wished, the tracts were *not* discontinued. Five more eventful years were to elapse before the fateful number ninety should appear. The studies commenced by Newman in the "memorable" Long Vacation of 1839 dealt him a staggering blow. He applied himself to a close study of the Monophysite controversy. "It was during this period that for the first time a doubt came upon me of the tenableness of Anglicanism." It was as if a ghostly figure had appeared momentarily by his side and whispered an impressive warning. The question forced itself upon him: If the Eutychians and the Monophysites were heretics, why were not also Protestants and Anglicans heretics? Could it be possible that the Church of Rome would prove to be right, after all? For the first time an awful suspicion haunted his mind that he was in spiritual danger—a suspicion that

continued to increase in power until it blossomed into a great conviction. Rightly to understand why he was so overwhelmed by the results of this study we must consider his doctrine of a *via media*—a receding from extremes, an attempt to form an Anglo-Catholic theory. Newman prepared a series of works bearing on the subject. These were issued 1836-8. The title of the first was The Prophetical Office of the Church Viewed Relatively to Romanism and Popular Protestantism. Others of the series were the Essay on Justification, the Disquisition on the Canon of Scripture, and the Tractate on Antichrist. The volumes increased both the devotion of friends and the hostility of enemies. The Prophetical Office aimed at several things: to show that the Roman and Anglican systems could not be confused together; to commence a system of theology on the Anglican claim of apostolic succession; to find in reason a basis for the belief; and to show that, since the Greek, Latin, and Anglican Churches agreed in fundamentals and differed only in later errors, by "lawful" coöperation doctrinal purity and unity could be restored. Underlying the theory of the book were what Newman considered three fundamentals: (1) The principle of dogma: "From the age of fifteen dogma has been the fundamental principle of my religion. . . . Religion as a mere sentiment is to me a dream and a mockery." (2) The idea of a visible church with sacraments and rites which are the channels of invisible grace. Especially did Newman contend for the high authority of his bishop. "My duty to him was my point of honor." (3) The duty of making an emphatic protest against the Church of Rome. He believed, with Bernard Gilpin, that Protestants "were *not able* to give any *firm and solid* reason of the separation besides this: to wit, that the Pope is Antichrist." In the spring of 1839 Newman's position in the Anglican Church was at its height. So far in all his theology he could claim the support of the great Anglican authorities, and this gave him confidence. An article which he published in the British Critic for April of this year exactly describes his feelings. The article anticipates the coming of a great upheaval over the attempted resuscitation of buried doctrines, disclaims responsibility by the party for the vagaries of certain new disciples, and discusses the possibility of

the future of the Anglican Church being "a new birth of the ancient religion." It concludes with the contention that all who did not wish to be "democratic, or pantheistic, or Popish," must "look out for *some via media* which will preserve us from what threatens." Yet that Newman was not fully convinced of the soundness of his suggested *via media* is evident from his own words:

> It still remains to be tried whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism, the religion of Andrewes, Laud, Hammond, Butler, and Wilson, is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action, or whether it be a mere modification or transition state of either Romanism or Popular Protestantism.

It was while Newman's mind was filled with ideas such as these that he plunged into that study of the Monophysite heresy which shook his theory to the very foundation. The time was the Long Vacation of 1839. Then in August he read, in the Dublin Review, an article by Dr. Wiseman on "The Anglican Claim," in which a comparison was made between the Donatists and the Anglicans. The article quoted the phrase of Augustine: *"Securus judicat orbis terrarum."* Writing of this, Newman says:

> By those great words of the ancient father, interpreting and summing up the long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverized.

Yet we must not think that Newman was now ready to enter the Roman communion. He was still very far from this. The indictment of Rome's proselytizing methods which he made in the British Critic early in 1840, to which reference was made at the beginning of this article, was written, be it observed, *after* the study of the Monophysite heresy. If he could not attack Rome in *what* she taught, he could still attack her in *how* she taught. Nevertheless, as time went on he found himself getting less and less inclined to speak against Rome in any way at all. His misgivings, he says, "dismayed and disgusted" him. He felt that he no longer had a distinctive plea for Anglicanism. But he still believed that there was apostolic succession and the grace of the sacraments in the Establishment, and entertained the hope that perhaps England and Rome might some day unite. It was now that his friends began to fear that he was breaking down in his Anglicanism, and that his

enemies began to accuse him of being a "secret Romanist." On such questions Newman should be allowed to speak for himself. He emphatically denies that he ever said anything which bore secretly against the Church of England in order that others might unwarily accept it. In analyzing the state of his mind during the ten years 1835-45 he says that for the first four he wished to benefit the Church of England at the expense of Rome, and that for the next four he wished that benefit without prejudice to Rome. His varying positions during the next two years will appear later. He did not want to see individual Anglicans becoming Romanists—this he declared to a Catholic friend in a letter written in 1840; the fact of Protestantism argued for something radically wrong with Rome. "My *sympathies* have grown toward Rome, but I still have the strongest *reasons* for shunning her communion." Mariolatry and transubstantiation were positive difficulties in his way. The "Sermons on Subjects of the Day," preached during the period under consideration, are additional proof that he was trying to bring to bear upon himself and others every possible reason for *not* joining Rome. Yet he does admit that, as time went on, he "recognized, in principles which he had honestly preached as Anglican, conclusions favorable to the cause of Rome."

Newman thus conceived the issue of the controversy between the two churches: A distinction must be made between Roman dogma and Romanism as practiced. In the same way must a distinction be made between Anglicanism quiescent and Anglicanism in action. *Between Romanism in action and Anglicanism quiescent there is not much difference,* and these are really the parties in the controversy. In 1840 he wrote: "Our strong point is the argument from primitiveness, that of Romanists from universality"; and a year later: "If the note of schism, on the one hand, lies against England, an antagonist disgrace lies upon Rome, the note of idolatry." But his confidence that apostolicity and holiness could make Anglicanism a branch of the Church Catholic gradually weakened, so that by the end of 1841 all he could say was: "Still, we are not nothing; we cannot be as if we never had been a church; we are 'Samaria.'" This conclusion—the conclusion of a man who is hoping against hope—was hastened by three other

events of the latter half of this same year. The first was the pronounced and open hostility of the Anglican bishops. The second was that, from a study of the Arians, Newman says he saw clearly that "the pure Arians were the Protestants, the semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what she was then." The third was the matter of the Jerusalem bishopric. The Prussian court wanted an Anglican bishop to reside at Jerusalem. All the foreign Protestants there who were so minded were to come under the bishop's care. The Anglicans were willing to make the experiment. Newman strenuously objected to the innovation. Who was going to tell if these foreigners—Orthodox Greeks and schismatical Orientals—had been duly baptized and confirmed, or even if they held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration! This was the heaviest blow of all; it marked the beginning of the end. Newman accelerated the course of events by the publication of the celebrated Tract Ninety. In this tract he undertook to defend the proposition that the Thirty-nine Articles were not meant, primarily, to oppose Catholic teaching; that they only partially oppose Catholic dogma; and that their real purpose was to oppose the dominant errors of Rome. The main problem, he declared, was to draw the line between what the Articles allowed and what they condemned. The Reformation was aimed at "Popery," not as a religious power, but as a political principle. It was a part of the purpose of the Articles that the "papists" should be won to the Reformation. The Convocation of 1571, which received and confirmed the Articles, enjoined upon ministers that they should be careful to preach only that which is "agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, *and which the Catholic fathers and ancient bishops have collected* from that very doctrine." The tract reaches this conclusion:

> The Articles are evidently framed on the principle of leaving open large questions on which the controversy hinges. They state broadly extreme truths, and are silent about their adjustment.

There was a measure of truth in some of Newman's contentions, but few people saw this, and in the clamor that followed the publication of the tract the author realized that his place in the movement was gone forever. He therefore immediately resigned both his official

position and the editorship of the British Critic. The breach thus made in the party was irreparable. One half, including Newman himself, went on toward Rome; the other half split up into various sects.

The first question that the new condition of affairs brought up in Newman's mind was his relation to his parish. He seriously contemplated resigning it, especially as he felt that his preaching was disposing many people toward Rome, and he wrote to Keble to this effect. Keble advised him to retain the living, and for a time the advice was followed. After all, he thought, there was only a question of degree between himself and earlier Anglican divines; and, besides, he could use Saint Mary's to protest against the current rationalism. Situated a short distance from Oxford and attached to Saint Mary's parish was the village of Littlemore. At this place Newman owned some land and a house—later called "The Littlemore Monastery"—and in 1842, with several young men, he took up his residence there. Here for three years he led a life of prayer and fasting and monastic seclusion. This seclusion aroused suspicion, and his enemies declared that he "dared not" tell why he went to Littlemore. He utters the pathetic plaint: "Wounded brutes creep into some hole to die in, and no one grudges it them. Let me alone; I shall not trouble you long." Newman declared that he went to Littlemore for his own personal good, as well as to be able to give greater care to a neglected part of his parish. He was "attempting nothing ecclesiastical." To the charge that he was rearing a "nest of papists" at the village, he replied that, so far from urging the young men to go to Rome, he did all he could to hold them back. One of these young men conformed to Rome very suddenly, but in this he broke faith with Newman, to whom he had promised that he would remain at Littlemore as an Anglican for at least three years. But the course of time only served to unsettle Newman the more. If the Anglican Church was formally wrong, and if the Church of Rome was formally right, why should he stay in the one, and why should he not join the other? The least he could do, he thought, was to retire into lay communion, and in anticipation of this step he wrote a letter on March 4, 1843, in which he said that he saw no reason why an

Anglican layman should not hold Roman Catholic opinions. This period of seclusion led up to two significant events: the retractation and the resignation. (1) In February, 1843, Newman made a formal retractation of all the harsh things he had ever said against Rome. In it he declared that much of his antagonism to the hierarchy had been second-hand; he had simply repeated what other Anglican divines had said, and they had led him astray. But what troubled him most, he said, was that his retractation would result in a triumph for Liberalism. Anglicanism was the halfway house to Rome, as Liberalism was the halfway house to Atheism. He feared that his change of opinion would drive many from the Anglican to the Liberal halting place. (2) On the 18th of September following the retractation Newman resigned his living. The "ostensible, direct, and sufficient reason" for this was "the persevering attack of the bishops on Tract Ninety." The immediate cause of the resignation was the "conversion" to Rome of Lockhart. Newman had had little to do with the "conversion," but he felt sure it would be laid at his door as a breach of trust. Besides, he had on hand a plan to publish a great series of the Lives of English Saints—a plan which never fully materialized—and he believed this was incompatible with his holding the living. For two years after resigning Saint Mary's Newman was in lay communion, for there were yet serious obstacles in the way of his joining Rome. The fluctuations of his mind during these years led naturally to inconsistent statements which perplexed his friends and baffled his enemies. He resolved to adopt a policy of silence, but this only led to his being charged with being "mysterious and inexplicable." It was while he was in this state of mind—literally with "foes without and fears within"—that he grasped a principle which he believed would legitimately and adequately explain the whole structure of Roman dogma. It was the principle of development. Christian doctrine was under an evolutionary plan; it was a great organic structure of which every item was originally present in germ, and brought to light and completion as occasion demanded. It was to elaborate this idea that Newman began, late in 1844 or early in 1845, the epochal "Essay on Doctrinal Development." Very suggestive are two letters written at about this

same period. The first is dated November 16, 1844, and in it Newman declares that logically Anglicanism leads on to Rome, and if he does not follow the leading, he fears he must fall back into skepticism. But he says also: "What keeps me yet is what has kept me long—a fear that I am under a delusion." The second letter, dated January 8, 1845, is the one referred to in the opening paragraphs of this article as containing the searching personal question: "Can *I* be saved in the English Church?" These two letters show plainly enough that Newman began the essay with a strong prejudice in favor of Rome. What he wanted was a sufficient ground for allowing his mind to follow his heart. The proposition which he undertook to defend was:

> That, whereas Revelation is a heavenly gift, He who gave it virtually has not given it unless He has also secured it from perversion or corruption in all such development as comes upon it by the necessity of its nature. . . . That intellectual action through successive generations, which is the organ of development, must be in its determinations infallible.

The main contention of the essay, and the conclusion to which Newman was led by his work in connection with it, is summed up in this sentence: "From the time of Constantine the system and the phenomena of worship in Christendom, from Moscow to Spain, and from Ireland to Chile, is one and the same." The more he worked at the essay, the more he felt all his doubts about Rome disappearing. "Catholic" was substituted for the term "Roman Catholic"; none other than Romanists were "Catholics." Soon he became so certain of his conclusions that he determined to take the final step, "imperative when such certitude was attained," of submission to Rome. The essay was laid aside unfinished. An arrangement was made for a personal visit by Father Dominic, superior of the Passionist House at Aston, near Stone. "He does not know of my intention; but I mean to ask of him admission into the One Fold of Christ." The visit was made, and Newman was received into Rome on October 9, 1845. A year later he was ordained to the priesthood. He went in the strength of a great conviction, and yet not without a sorrow, for at the time of his going he wrote these words, which cannot but excite pity in even the most hostile heart:

> Yes, I give up home; I give up all who have ever known me, loved me, valued me, wished me well; I know well that I am making myself a byword and an outcast.

Thus he went, and we may draw what inference we like from the fact that his going synchronized with Renan's renunciation of the Roman claim.

A brief notice of Newman's career as a Romanist is all that is necessary. Gladstone said that, as far as the Church of England was concerned, the secession was "calamitous"—chiefly because Newman at once began to regain for Romanism an influential place in England. He introduced the institute of the Oratory, to whose founder, Saint Philip Neri, he was especially attracted. The "Papal Aggression," which led to such violent anti-Romanism in England, had Newman for one of its leaders. In 1854 he was made rector of the new Roman Catholic University at Dublin. The university failed, but it led to the writing of one of Newman's greatest books, the Idea of a University. The manifest worth of his work was recognized by Pope Leo, who in 1878 called him to the Sacred College, with the unusual privilege of exemption from the obligation of residence at the pontifical court. At Rome, in May of the following year, he was formally created cardinal of the title of Saint George in Velabro. At the time that he received this honor he told the Sacred College something of the story of his life: how for fifty years he had resisted Liberalism, how he had clung to the absolute character of Christianity, and how the seat of religious authority, which he had so long sought in vain in Anglicanism and evangelical theology, he had at last found in Rome. Newman's life after this was comparatively quiet, uneventful and serene. Doubt was at rest. Most of his remaining years were spent at the Oratory at Edgbaston. He died on the 11th of August, 1890.

J. A. Froude has made some curiously erratic judgments of men and events, but his characterization of Newman is worth attention:

> He was above middle height, slight and spare. His head was large—his face remarkably like that of Julius Cæsar. The forehead, the shape of the ears and nose, were almost the same. The lines of the mouth were very peculiar, and I should say exactly the same. In both men there was

an original force of character, which refused to be molded by circumstances, which was to make its own way and become a power in the world; a clearness of intellectual perception, a disdain for conventionalities, a temper imperious and willful, but along with it a most attaching gentleness, sweetness, singleness of heart and purpose.

Newman's sincerity and earnestness were undoubted, Abbott's two volumes of labored attack notwithstanding. Grant all that can fairly be said of mistakes of judgment and of conduct, there remains a residuum of true personal worth. He "loved souls" with something of an evangelical fervor, yet neither as an Anglo-Catholic nor as a Romanist did he seek to force men's convictions. He became a leader, not by any manipulation, but by the force of inherent desert. The poor of Birmingham knew him well, and more than once during an epidemic did he risk his life that he might tend the sick. What he conceived to be the great issues of our mortal life he faced bravely, and no man may do that and altogether fail of manliness. Whately taught Newman the art of reasoning, and as far as formal argument is concerned the pupil learned his lesson well. The only way to resist Newman's conclusion is to refuse to grant him his premise. Take, for example, his ground principle, that "an infallible religious authority is necessary," predicate "objective" of this authority, allow to Newman that the claim is good, and in a moment one finds oneself full-fronting Peter's chair, vaguely conscious of being in the wrong place, and yet quite sure that the road that led there was plain and straight and inevitable. It seems incredible that this mind which was capable of sustaining a keen logical process should be the same mind that implicitly accepted every statement of Augustine and Aquinas, that thought natural phenomena were to be explained by angelic mediation, and that accepted the miracles and the legends and the "science" of the Middle Ages because, forsooth, an infallible church had pronounced them true! It was, perhaps, things such as these that Carlyle had in mind when he expressed the opinion that Newman possessed "the brain of a medium-sized rabbit." Perhaps he would never have gone where he did go had he spent less time with the ancients and more with the moderns. A mind which knew practically nothing of what German scholars and philosophers had done for a century past

could hardly be expected to construct other than a mediæval theology. Newman was master of a regal style. His Idea of a University affords to more than one textbook illustrations of clearness, force, and beauty. From a literary standpoint many of his sermons are well-nigh faultless. Even his casual letters exhibit a rare command of luminous English. Dean Stanley is no friendly critic otherwise, yet he writes: "There are hardly any passages in English literature which have exceeded in beauty the description of music in his University sermons; the description of the sorrows of human life in his sermon on the Pool of Bethesda; the description of Elijah on Mount Horeb."

But after we have said all the good things we can find to say about this man—after we have admitted his evident sincerity and genuineness, his devotion, his philanthropy, his mental vigor, his literary skill—we are forced to admit that there was something about him which both prevented the fullest fruition of his powers and went far to vitiate the usefulness of those powers even in the extent to which they were developed. Wesley was a *homo unius libri*. Newman was a *homo unius notionis*. In the case of Wesley the One Book was such, and his relation to it was such, that there was kept sound and wholesome his relation to all other interests, human and divine. In the case of Newman the One Idea was such, and his relation to it was such, that there was thrown out of balance his relation to all other questions. The One Idea to which Newman pinned his whole faith, and on which he literally staked his whole existence, was that there must be an objective infallible authority in matters of religion. Once the idea took possession of him he never rested until he yielded to the only power which had ever claimed to be such an authority—Rome. He read history in the light of the One Idea and it made him misread it. It dominated him as he studied the heresies. It ultimately drove him away from Anglicanism and filled his soul with hatred of the Reformation. What mattered it that that Reformation was really a revolt against the puerilities and corruptions of that very authority he would deify? What mattered it that almost every worthy thing in modern Romanism had resulted from the internal reforms forced upon it by that great revolt? What mattered it that the

darkest crimes on record had been perpetrated under the sanction of the Holy See? There *must* be the objective infallible authority, and that authority was Rome! That settled, and crimes were no longer crimes—they were pious deeds; pious deeds were no longer pious deeds—for they were crimes; myths were no longer myths—they were historical facts; historical facts were no longer facts—they were myths; bad men were no longer bad—they were good; good men were no longer good—they were bad! Why all this? Because there must be objective infallible authority; because that authority was Rome; and because Rome had formally declared this or that. But who says Rome is infallible religious authority? *Rome says so;* and what more is needed?

> No one can be a Catholic without a simple faith that what the church declares in God's name is God's word, and therefore true. A man must simply believe that the church is the oracle of God. . . . The church cannot allow her children the liberty of doubting the word of her truth. . . . Let a man cease to inquire, or else cease to call himself her child. . . . I did not believe the doctrine of transubstantiation till I was a Catholic. I had no difficulty in believing it as soon as I believed that the Catholic Roman Church was the oracle of God, and that she had declared this doctrine to be part of the original revelation.

A final word: The evangelical doctrines of the supremacy of Christ, the witness of the Holy Spirit, and the sufficiency of Scripture—which are also doctrines of that primitive church which Newman professed to find only in Rome and in Roman dogma and practice—would have supplied him with all the authority and certainty which he needed. Newman prayed for the leading of the "Kindly Light." Was the light withheld? or, being given, was its help ignored? In any event, as the student traces the progress of what one has called "A Soul's Tragedy," somehow there ring through his mind as an unceasing refrain the words of Jesus: "If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

Edwin Lewis.

Art. II.—THE MORAL RESPONSIBILITY OF GOD TO MAN

All true thinking leads us to the conclusion that the external world is the expression of mind, and that the one absolute and eternal thinker and worker is God—God, eternal, omnipotent, holy, and righteous, who has filled the universe with his power and glory, and has written and inscribed on every law and atom his eternal power and Godhead. The external world is the language of God—the revelation which the infinite mind has made to the finite. The world is full of God. So impressed and overwhelmed was the psalmist in those far-off days with this thought that he broke forth: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament showeth his handiwork." God's omnipotence, omniscience, his wisdom, power, and glory are over all. The falling snowflake, the tiny flower, the feathered songster, the rolling seasons, and the majestic sunset speak of God, of design, of an overruling Providence.

The question is eternally present—Can God's wisdom, power, and glory be seen in the creation of man as in the laws that govern nature? Consider the races of mankind dwelling upon the face of the earth; men of strange speech, complex ideas, different ideals, and diverse temperament. Behold man placed under the limitation of knowledge, groping in darkness, ignorance, servitude to environment and superstition; see him in his struggle with himself, his clan, his enemy, devastated, destroyed, yet ever looking up and struggling forward. Consider man in ignorance—as a cannibal of the south sea, as a dweller in darkness in the wilds of Africa; as a devotee of fanaticism bowing before some hideous idol, even lifting up human sacrifice to appease the anger of his deity. Behold this gruesome sight of men and armies in conflict, in war, in blood-red carnage; see awful death and destruction walking abroad in gaping wounds and maimed bodies. See a world of sin, sorrow, suffering; see human wretchedness and misery, sorrow and heartache abounding; the strong preying on the weak, the cunning upon the innocent, the dishonest upon the hon-

orable. Is there infinite wisdom and goodness behind all this mass of disorganized wretchedness, this misery, sin, and degradation? There is infinite responsibility somewhere. The God who is responsible has shouldered a great burden. Can he in any way show man that it was love that prompted and governs all? When God launched our humanity into this world, with its fearful responsibility, its awful possibility for good and evil, did not God put himself under infinite obligation to take infinite care of his creatures? God did not take mankind into his counsel. He asked no man's advice as to how, when, and where he should endow, create, and place man. Man is in this world burdened and freighted with tremendous responsibilities, even filled with immortal possibilities. Man lives under social, physical, and spiritual laws that to disobey, even in the innocence of ignorance, means death and destruction. Man finds himself a living, moving, and thinking mystery; and yet under moral obligations to himself, to others, and to God. Man learns that to do justly, love truth, walk uprightly, is wisdom, and essential for social well-being. Man learns that God is a Being of infinite holiness, justice, truth, and mercy, and that he requires man to live in a world of moral chaos—a world of selfishness and sin, a world of ignorance and prejudice, strife and disorder—a good life; moral, upright, pure, and holy. If not, law will smite him, justice will condemn him, society will scorn him, and at last even God will smite, and heaven will banish, and hell will torment.

Man looks up and cries in despair, "What does all this mean? Where is the justice, the love, the mercy of all this?" Man asks, "What right had this Being to create man and ordain laws that smite, and conditions that degrade, and place limitations of knowledge around him, and then leave all to organic law, and quietly withdraw and sit over yonder on a throne and view with apparent complacence all this struggling and sorrowing and miserable mass of human wretchedness which he has made possible?" Reason says, "Why ask man to do what the God of creation does not do?" Why ask man to live in a world where sin, sorrow, and suffering abound? Why ask man to struggle toward the light of truth, the beauty of holiness, with a thousand hands grasping him to pull

him back? Why condemn man for not finding truth, and life eternal, when it is so difficult to find—so many discordant voices, so many isms and schisms, so many doxies, so many creeds that wind and wind?" Reason sits in judgment upon creation, and asks: "Shall not the Creator give account to man? Is there not moral responsibility and moral accountability of God to man? Is it possible for intelligent moral beings, that have struggled to the light of reason amid surrounding conditions, to look upon the disorganized masses of human misery and respect a God that made such conditions possible and then complacently lived apart from it all?" Is reason satisfied and justice placated by any process of inspiration that attains to ethical precepts and moral ideals through which the soul can find its way to life, to holiness, to heaven, to God?

It is safe to say that the higher the degree of intelligence, the purer the reason, the more revolting would be its conception of such a God. Man could not respect such a God. Such a God could not respect himself and be moral. Think of a father putting his son in an underground labyrinth, full of pitfalls and evil beasts that prey to destroy, and simply giving a chart of the labyrinth together with a few fatherly precepts and then leaving the son to his fate. The writer knows of a father who bought a high-spirited horse and put the animal in a box stall. Upon leaving home he told his two sons, aged ten and twelve years, to go after school and feed and bed the horse. The lads were afraid to enter the box stall to bed the horse. The father came home and found the work undone. He got the boys out of bed, made them go in and bed the horse, and then he tied them in a corner of the stall and left them there all night. The children cried and sobbed in fear. One died of brain fever, and the father walked to the grave amid the angry threatenings of many outraged and incensed neighbors. It is not necessary to say that millions and millions of human beings are tied in the box stall of environment, of social conditions, of moral conditions, that kick the life and brains out of unnumbered millions. Gaunt famine decimates, the Ganges drowns, the funeral pyre cremates, witchcraft destroys, custom drowns and damns to a worse hell than even devils invent. Let China, India, Africa, and

the isles of the sea speak of what they know, and then let the recording angel write it down and put it in the book of remembrance and open it before the throne eternal, and then adjust the scales and let justice take account of heaven's verdict.

Reason says, "God has no moral right to ask me to do, and to go, and to live under conditions that he did not live, and do, and go, and be in himself." Reason says, "Precepts, maxims, ideals, and even pure truth, are not sufficient to guide the soul amid so many discordant voices and conflicting opinions." Reason says, "There is no respect in heaven or in earth for a God that says, 'Go,' without first going; for a God that says, 'Do,' without first doing." That kind of a God would be no better than a Shah of Persia, an Abdul of Turkey; no better than some overfed, self-satisfied autocrat who demands toil and servitude, or who, like Shylock the Jew, demands his pound of flesh regardless of human suffering. Is this the way the God of heaven, the God whose power and glory are seen in the heavens above and the earth beneath, treats man?

Apart from Christian revelation, apart from the revelation which the God and Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ made in the person of his Son, men are forced by the verdict of pure reason to look upon God the Creator as just such an autocrat. There is no other path marked out for a moral God to follow, that will win respect and commendation in heaven and earth, than a self-revelation of a God of love, in grace and in human life. A God that cannot enter human life and become man's leader and guide is no God, and one that could, and would not, is not worthy of respect. Every religious system that has been worth the name or recognition, that has given to the world any class of thinkers, has reached these or similar conclusions. Take Platonic thought: "Before the visible universe was made there must have existed the invisible idea or archetype in the mind of God. For everything, from a flower to a nation, there must be a preëxistent idea eternal in the heavens. And if there be an archetypal man, he, too, must be manifest for a while in a human body." Turn to Egyptian religious thought. We learn that Osiris, the great hero god of that system of worship, is represented as visiting the earth, suffer-

ing, dying, rising again, to be judge of the quick and the dead. The same thought is expressed in Persian religion, Zoroastrianism. Indian thought, as represented in Buddhism, speaks of this Buddha, son of light, as being born of a virgin seven centuries before Christ, to reveal truth and to deliver man from evil. Those great religious systems foreshadowed the Gospel of John, which says, "The Logos was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten Son," etc. The glory and grandeur of the Old Testament prophecies were that our God, the Messiah, was to do just this thing. The glory and grandeur of our Christian religion is that God did this. He took the world of mankind upon his heart. He fathered and mothered humanity. He entered into the fellowship of its sorrows. He became the supreme burden-bearer and the leader of all in self-sacrifice. He became "bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh." He became obedient to the limitations of the laws that he imposed upon man. He walked in the path he asked man to walk in. He lived the life he asked man to live. He stripped himself of his glory, and left the light of heaven and came to earth, because he loved man, and because he loved to serve and help man. There is no other God worth having, worth loving and serving. There is no other religion that appeals to reason, justice, truth, and morality.

In 1881 the Berlin Academy of Sciences held a meeting in honor of Leibnitz. Du Bois-Reymond read an address. His subject was, "The Seven Riddles of Science." He spoke of the nature and origin of matter, the nature and origin of motion, the nature and origin of life, the nature and origin of thought, of language, the freedom of the will, and design in nature. He said: "They challenge all science, all thinking, to explain their origin and nature. They are wrapt in profound mystery." The quest of the ages is to know these riddles of matter, motion, thought, and volition. Science deals with the facts, the phenomena; philosophy with the principles; literature with the criticism, and art with the beauty of these gifts of the Creator to man. We study facts, principles, criticism, and beauty, but the study of the phenomena does not explain the origin and essence of the things themselves. By these seven gifts, or riddles, or mysteries, as the master of science

calls them, we have come to place and power. By their magic power ignorance, tyranny, and hate are being banished from the earth. Through these we are the possessors of science, philosophy, literature, art, and physical forces. These seven gifts have liberated, educated, and empowered the human race. These gifts are given to man in order that man may investigate and conquer and possess nature and mind. What does Du Bois-Reymond mean when he speaks of the nature and origin of matter, motion, life, will, and language as being wrapt in unfathomable mystery? He simply means that all these gifts are in their origin and essence of virgin birth; they are direct emanations from the thought and power of God; they are incarnations. "Thou sendest forth thy spirit and they are created."

Science says: "These are great gifts; they are in exact harmony with the giving of the Creator, with his omnipotence and omniscience." Science and philosophy, literature and art say that, if the Creator would add another gift, that gift would be in exact accord with the other gifts so far as their and its origin and nature were concerned; and, further, that this gift would correspond with the other gifts in lifting man to a place of power through coöperation with the gift; and the place of power would correspond with the nature of the gift and the nature of its reception. We turn to Paul's second letter to the Corinthians, chapter 9, verse 15, and read, "Thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift." This refers to the Christ of God. We learn regarding his incarnation, his virgin birth, that "the Word," or thought of God, "was made flesh." We learn that he was "conceived by the Holy Spirit"; thus he stands before us as an unthinkable mystery, as a mystery that baffles science, philosophy, theology, art, and literature to explain. His incarnation adds to the riddles of science another one. This gift is in exact accord with what science, philosophy, literature, and art propose. By this gift unspeakable man also comes to a place of power and service divine.

Christ in his incarnation is beyond my reason, as are matter, motion, life, will; but he is not against my reason. He is in exact accord with my reason enlightened and guided by science and philosophy, literature and art. He is a splendid, living, helping

reality to the heart and life of a living and believing humanity. As men possess Christ in the same way that they possess matter, motion, life, thought, and will, they conquer and possess the moral and spiritual world and rise to a place of power which liberates, educates, and crowns the human race with that eclectic power called Christian civilization, and a living, vital, spiritual relationship with the Creator. The man who says, "I reject the incarnation and virgin birth of Christ because it is unthinkable and unscientific" is himself irrational and unscientific. He is an anomaly, a monstrosity in the scientific and philosophical world. As well reject the reality of matter, motion, life, thought, and will —these phenomena which are round and about us, within and without us—simply because one does not understand the unfathomable mystery of their origin and nature or essence.

Look for a moment at the demand that modern science makes of this God who reveals himself to man in terms of human life. Science says that such a life in its revelation of love and grace shall be correlated to the power of Omnipotence, which already is expressed in the law of correlation and conservation of energy as seen throughout the physical world. This life shall be correlated to Omnipotence and draw from this divine source such power that it can be transferred to men and institutions, giving them life and inspiration immeasurable, and at the same time remain inexhaustible. This law of correlation would save the work of this Divine Man or incarnate type from counterfeit or imitation. Look into this proposition and see if God has covered his moral responsibility in this demand of science. If so, he has given us a life and a demonstration of power that, apart from all Old Testament and New Testament revelation, give scientific verification that that life and work was and is of divine origin. Science demonstrates, speaks of, the conservation of energy, the transference of force. The conserved force of a ton of coal can be transmuted into heat, to steam, to the express train. The conserved flow of water can be transferred to water-wheel and machinery. The tree conserves sunlight. The acorn and oxygen and carbon and hydrogen and sunlight are the equivalent of the oak. The rising up of one force in one place involves the withdrawal of force in another. This law

is universal. All physical, mechanical, electrical effort is correlated and transferrable. The dynamo gives out no more than it gathers in. Let us look at this law and see how it applies to the work and ministry of Christ. Can the spiritual correlation of Christ to the world of humanity be measured by the law of conservation of energy? Has no more force issued from the person of Christ than subsided when only a man named Jesus was crucified? If Jesus Christ, as love, is correlated to the spiritual needs of the human race as the sun is correlated to the physical needs, then we have a life peculiar and unique, and a life that meets the exacting demands of the scientist.

We know that all physical force in the solar system is traceable to the sun. Dr. Lee pertinently asks:

Where are all conserved forces of Christian literature and Christian power traceable to? All Christian ideals, principles, forces, philanthropy, love, goodness, peace, power, come directly from Christ, as heat comes from the sun, as coal comes from carbon. There is the conserved force of Christian literature, Christian art, of Christian philanthropy, of Christian love, faith, zeal, inspiration. This conserved force takes form in churches, educational institutions, missionary work, love, service, sacrifice; these are correlated directly to Christ. Not one pound of energy more out of coal or wood or gas than was conserved in them.

The transference of energy is correlated to its conserved power. The transference of Christian energy is correlated to the conserved power of Christ. The sun expresses its transference of energy in the forests, trees, gardens, etc.

The Christ expresses himself in transference of energy of life, love, power in the hearts and lives of millions and millions of men and women and institutions, the happiest and holiest and purest and most blessed in all the world. Take the domestic, social, political, and ecclesiastical institutions that bear his name and live up to his teachings.

From whence this power?

From a poor Jew with no social position, no money, no army, no college; from one who never wrote a book, from one who was crucified as a malefactor, as a disturber of social tranquillity along with thieves and murderers.

All physical force can be measured. No more force rises up than subsides. Action and reaction are equal.

Was that young Man's life of three years, seemingly so insignificant and weak, the exact equivalent of all the Christian churches and colleges,

art, literature, homes, and government, sacrifice and heroism, patience and love, faith and hope, that have resulted from the life and ministry of that young Man? If so, was he only a man?

Multiply three years by poverty, toil, contempt, sorrow, and crucifixion and you have one product.

Multiply twenty centuries by hundreds of thousands of churches, schools, and colleges, and by hundreds of millions of transformed lives and happy homes; then by poems and songs, paintings and embellished art; then by success and triumph, conquest, love, mercy, and truth; then by a hold upon the hearts and lives of humanity unequaled by all the other world's great men; then by the glorious hope of glory, honor, and immortality inherent in the Christian's life, and you have another immeasurable product—a product that carries you into the infinite.

Whence all this power? Whence the correlation and transference of power? Can Christ's life be accounted for from simply a human side? Can any human philosophy or logic, can any appeal to human reason account for this any more than they can account for the origin of matter or mind? Is there any rule or scientific principle known by which the unique life and power can be classified and labeled? Call him a mere man, the paradox deepens. Take him at his own valuation. Accept his own estimation and honesty. He said: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth." On no other premise can we account for his life and work and influence. Christ is the incarnate Word of God, and God revealed to man as the "unspeakable gift" and yet as the unfathomable mystery. It is easy to assume that any system, the center of which is gradually losing its force, is using itself up.

Christ is the center, the sun of the Christian world. He is pouring his force, his love, his life, and his spirit into the hearts and lives of millions of men and women, churches and institutions; they are growing richer in love and faith, hope, and power, and still Christ lives and gives; and as he gives new power is generated. Instead of becoming poorer he becomes richer. The power, the love that he gives away come back to him increased by the love and service of all who receive him.

This places the life of Christ in the exact class that science demands—a unique place that cannot be duplicated. His life cannot be classified with any other life or measured by any rule. It is correlated to God himself and expresses the transference of infinite power to finite needs. As Dr. Lee puts it: "The object of

which hunger is the subject is bread. The object of which intellect is the subject is truth. The object of which art is the subject is beauty. The object of which the spiritual nature is the subject is Jesus Christ." As the embodiment of truth, love, and righteousness, the human spirit finds in Christ the climate and the condition exactly adapted to its need and highest realization. To be an oak is to grow out of the acorn and to assimilate the natural elements of the natural world. To be a Christian is to grow out of Christ and to assimilate the spiritual life of the spiritual world, and this is inexhaustible.

Let us turn for a moment to the demand of philosophy. Let Plato or Zeno state it. Regarding this archetype, the perfectly righteous man, he says: "He must needs not be guilty of one unrighteous act, and yet labor all of his life under the imputation of being utterly unrighteous, in order that his disinterestedness may be thoroughly tested." By proceeding in such a course he must arrive inevitably at bonds and scourge and lastly at the cross. Interpret this into practical language and we have the following: This archetype, or God incarnate, must use as the ideals and principles of his kingdom what no other world conqueror ever used, and could not use if he tried. This perfectly righteous man must appeal to man's unselfish and disinterested worldly ambition. He must use what other world conquerors cast aside. He must not make conditions of service in his kingdom sensual or carnal; he must offer no position of ease, no money, no pleasure, no social distinction; but a sphere of service, unselfish, loving, in which the strong will bear the burden of the weak, in which the leader is the servant of the many, in which men are called to die to self-seeking, and, if necessary, to pick up the cross and carry it to Calvary, lie on it, and die rather than seek one's own ease or pleasure or relinquish one's ideals.

Who in all history exactly met this demand, and fulfilled in life what philosophic thought saw as an absolutely perfect ideal in this archetype of incarnate Deity? Turn to the Christ. He did not make the condition of discipleship sensual or carnal. He offered not life but death. He offered not pleasure but pain. He built his kingdom on sacrifice and service; he called men to die to

self and to the world's pleasure. "He that forsaketh not father and mother, brother and sister, houses and lands for my sake cannot be my disciple." He said to the rich young man, "Sell all that thou hast, give to the poor, come and follow me." To Matthew, the tax-gatherer, he says, "Follow me." To Peter, James, and John: "Leave your nets, fishing boats; follow me." Then we hear him: "The foxes have holes, the birds of the air have nests; the Son of man has not where to lay his head."

The work and ministry of Jesus Christ was a new departure in human life, yet a departure in perfect accord with the demands of reason and philosophy as suggested by Plato and as demanded by science. Christ's birth and life and work and ministry are no more of a departure from what we call natural law than was the introduction or virgin birth of life, of consciousness, of will, of thought. Plato says: "This archetype, this perfectly righteous life, must be guilty of not one unrighteous act, and yet labor all his life under the imputation of being utterly unrighteous." Look at Christ's life: Is it not the only original, absolute, unselfish life that has ever been lived? His ideals, precepts, and truths transcend all other products of the human mind as the mountains transcend the foothills. His character and principles are unique. He seeks a new humanity, a new and spiritual type, and from this new type he purposes to recreate a new race, a new humanity, whose ideals and principles are to incorporate what Christ represented in life and precept. Gustave Doré, in his painting, "The Triumph of Christianity," represents the Christ steadily advancing, bearing the cross, while before him all the gods of heathenism are overthrown. Christ wins his way not simply by overthrowing but by regenerating, cleansing, purifying, and transforming. His spirit permeates old creeds, casts out the false and base, and sanctifies the pure and true. He has fulfilled the ideals of the past and paves the way for a diviner future. All types and shadows of Jewish economy, all heathen signs, all thoughts and philosophies, as we have seen, point forward to such an incarnation as Christ represents. Science casts up its iron-bound demands, science brings its inductive and incisive thinking, science lifts its exacting scales, brings its infallible test, the law

of correlation, the transference and conservation of energy, and the Christ and Christianity meet even this demand. Philosophy delves into the realm of reason, postulates its exacting premise of incisive, cogent thinking, demands the realization of the ideal, and forthwith steps forth the divine archetype, the incarnate Christ, and meets and fulfills the requirements of philosophy. Science and philosophy uncover their heads, hoary with age and yet wet with the dews of the morning of perennial youth, and say: "We have Him whom the light of pure reason and the scales of inductive science have sought"—Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, infinite, eternal, and omnipotent.

And thus, by a process of reason which the mind imposes upon itself, does pure reason dethrone that fanatical false god, called "modern rationalism," which denies the self-revelation of God in grace and love in the person of the Christ. Modern rationalism, modern Unitarianism, and so-called reformed Judaism stand before the very tribunal which they evoke to sustain their proposition, without a postulate sustained by reason or science or philosophy. Its bridge is a *pons asinorum*, resting in the air with span reaching nowhere.

Fred Leitch.

Art. III.—PULPIT MANNERISMS AND MANNERS

We dare not treat this subject in a fault-finding or cynical spirit, remembering the command, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." The topic may seem comparatively trivial. It is not so when we consider that manner and mannerism are to the function of the preacher as art to the marble column. The manner beautifies and decorates, while mannerism defaces, disintegrates, and covers with moss and brambles. It is a peculiarity of style carried to excess till it becomes offensive. We use the word "pulpit" in a general sense, covering the functions of the preacher both in and out of the desk. Any peculiarities distinguish him in all his relations to the public. The strenuousness of his life is liable to make its impress upon the entire man more markedly than is observable in the other learned professions. There is a professional lingo with the doctor; the lawyer uses language peculiar to the courtroom and the legal adviser, but possibly they do not mark their subjects so conspicuously as do the mannerisms of the clergyman. They are less exposed. Is it not true that the stronger men of life's varied callings so rise above mere technicality as to resemble each other, as a great brotherhood, while weaklings are overgrown with affectation?

> What we have felt and seen
> With confidence we tell.

I. Both manners and mannerisms affect the clergyman in his dress as well as address. If he desires to wear the straight-breasted coat and the white tie, do not hinder him. It may cause some people to shy as he approaches, while others may be attracted. He will need the more brotherliness to overcome a seeming difference between him and the common people. The Salvation Army uniform is appropriate and encouraging. The white-bordered black of the deaconess is pleasing, and is her protection. Both are handsomer than the "Merry Widow" hat or its successor, so like an inverted water bucket. The blue uniform becomes the soldier, the policeman and the railway officer. If well fitting, the dark suit, if not worn glossy, befits the clergyman, but to dress like a dude be-

littles him. His manner of address and heartiness of handshake may help or hinder. There may be an assumed familiarity in calling people by their first names, and familiarizing yet more by such pet names as "Jimmie," "Billy," "Sally." This is always a risk, and rarely appreciated by those so addressed. Indeed, it is only safe within a narrow circle of intimates. The Reverend Brother Gusher would say, "So glad I met you. I was on my way to call." The kind layman said to me, "I knew it was for effect." The Reverend Doctor Hercules had a powerful grip, and would smile at your pain when shaking hands. "Let your moderation be known."

II. In visiting from house to house he needs tact. In my first pastorate I followed a veteran of great strength of character and power as a preacher. I felt the need of a model such as he, but soon found it necessary to break with his plan of visiting every church family once a quarter. Our Book of Discipline says, "Go to those who want you and to those who want you most." I soon found that in visiting in the homes during the daytime I was spending my attention upon that member of the household surest of heaven, the wife and mother, while the husband was buffeting the world and the children were off at school. I began to do more pastoral work on the street, in the store, in shop and in school, being careful to be brief and timely, according to situation. In visiting the sick the pastor's bearing should not be a premonitor of death. The doctor and he should have such a good understanding as to supplement each other. Never should he interfere with the good result of the physician's visit, and only in case death seems inevitable should his function rise superior to that of the doctor. He will not dwell upon the symptoms of the sick, but cheerfully divert as far as possible the attention of the sufferer. He may be jocular, but too much seasoning spoils the food.

III. How shall he approach the pulpit? Cowper says:

> I say the pulpit, in the sober use
> Of its legitimate peculiar powers,
> Must stand acknowledged while the world shall stand
> The most important and effectual guard,
> Support, and ornament of virtue's cause.

This fact adds importance to his bearing as he approaches the sacred desk. He is fortunate if there be a vestry from which he can quietly approach the pulpit, and still more fortunate if there alone, or surrounded by praying brethren, he receives anointing for his sacred work. If less fortunate he must enter by the aisle. His bearing may be a precursor and a preparation for the services to follow. A kindly humorous layman, an admirer of the new minister, said, "He enters the church as if pursued by a hornet, and then preaches as if commanding five hundred 'Wideawakes'" —a political order. Being a gifted, earnest minister, he succeeded. How can I ever forget the impressive spectacle when Dr. Edward Thompson and Dr. J. P. Durbin entered the sanctuary side by side, both small, dignified, self-possessed? It was the first time we Ohio Wesleyan University students had heard Durbin. At first we were disappointed with the drawling voice and slowness of utterance—which suddenly gave way to a burst of genuine eloquence, like the explosion of a meteor. From that on the fascination was overpowering. He proved himself another Chrysostom. It was said of him that his manner of opening a church service was marked with great composure, everything having been arranged.

Shall the minister kneel on first entering the pulpit? Mr. Beecher said to the Yale divinity students, "Nor can I avoid a feeling of displeasure, akin to that which Christ felt when he condemned prayer at the street corners, when I see a man bow down himself in the pulpit to say his prayers on first entering." The Methodist ritual says, "Let all our people kneel in silent prayer on entering the sanctuary." They are not likely so to do without the preacher's example. Do we not waste our opportunity as Protestants by frivolous social visiting instead of reverent waiting? We might learn from the Roman Catholic in this.

How shall he handle the announcements? Where draw a line? Must he exhort in behalf of concert and festival? Shall the traveling religious show influence him with complimentary tickets? Shall he incur wrath by ignoring part of the list? Much relief is found in the printed bulletin distributed in the pews announcing all except emergent cases. Let not that bulletin be spoiled with his picture, ordinarily a deformity with a smack of egotism.

Shall he wear the pulpit gown? In some Protestant churches to appear otherwise would be unseemly. Habit excludes it from others. It might have embarrassed Henry Ward Beecher or Charles H. Spurgeon. Such sermons as I have heard from both it were hard to cripple with an outward garment. I heard Charles S. Robinson in the American chapel in Paris and Canon Lyddon in Saint Paul's Cathedral, London. Each preached in a gown. The Presbyterian and the English churchman both preached so memorably as to never be forgotten. The surpliced choir eliminates rivalry in dress, subdues frivolity, and tends to reverence. The college gown is becoming, the judicial robe adds dignity; so may the surplice become the pulpit. I prefer the Prince Albert.

What shall he do with his hands? Make gestures. A large proportion of American preachers thrust their hands into their pockets. Dr. Broadus, at the head of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville for many years, declared it vulgar. If the preacher cannot without self-consciousness break the habit, let him pin up his pockets on Sunday morning. There are those whose hands and arms remind one of a windmill, and so divert attention from the minister's message. Tom Corwin, that wizard of Western stump oratory, would often say more at the end of a great sentence by the gesture with which he concluded his eloquent utterances than is said in many a sentence. The graceful movement of his hand, accompanied by a knowing look and shake of the head, would bring shouts of laughter and applause from the entranced audience. But even this would have become tiresome as a mannerism. The motion of the hand should so accompany the thought and its utterance as to unite both tongue and gesture in carrying home the truth.

Pulpit prayers when extempore may become more formal by repetition than if printed. Some are grandiloquent, having come down through generations. How the suppliants would be surprised if answered! In others much information is given to the Lord and the congregation. Sometimes wrongdoers are publicly whipped through so-called prayers. Cut out from some prayers repetitions, addresses to the Deity, and affirmations of unworthiness, and very little would remain except the "Amen." A young man having left

home for a residence in New York wrote, "Mother, I went to hear Mr. Beecher. In his prayer he took hold on God with one hand and laid the other on my head. I shall belong to his church." President Eliot says: "In those denominations which permit extemporaneous public prayer the minister possesses that tremendous influence. Leading in prayer worthily is the most exalted effort of the human mind. The power of such prayer is pervasive and enduring beyond all imagination. It may at any moment give to the listener a thrill which runs through all his being, and determine the quality not only of his own life but of many of those lives which will derive from his."

Pronunciation and enunciation must result from training outside of the pulpit. Even school children will be attracted and pleased by evident acquaintance on the part of the preacher with the dictionary. If he ever goes to the low level of slang he will lose his influence over an invaluable part of his audience, and it is doubtful whether those for whom he is thus fishing really take the bait. What he gains in sensation is more than balanced by what he loses in conviction. When a log has broken loose from a boom, and is on the verge of the falls from which it might never be recovered, the lumberman must use any grapple within reach. But this is purely exceptional; so should it be with sensationalism, and especially slang. He should modernize thought and language but in purest English. Most of our evangelists, being college graduates, are free from pulpit slang, though the few who indulge in it are having multitudes of minnies who but weaken their power as preachers. Moody avoided slang, so does Gypsy Smith. "Hear me," "I tell you right now," are belittling. Many pulpit men fall into bad habits traceable to the school-teacher and the college professor. One is in the form of prefix and suffix to words while bridging over from one sentence to another. Thus they interject with great frequency "Ah," "Ugh," "Eh." One may hear a minister say "The-ah-text-ah-may be-ah-found in-ah-Mark," or he may state, "Manna fell-ah-from ah-heaven for man-ah-'s use." In this way many an auditor falls far behind in effort to understand how much of the sentence is to be left out. This mannerism is widely prevalent among scholarly as well as illiterate preachers. Beware

of irreverent perversions of Scripture by punning or otherwise. It may destroy the sacredness of a passage and associate it in memory with trifles.

Shall he stand still, or move about? Both alternately. Said a friendly layman, "Our preacher paced the rostrum sixty times yesterday—and it was not a good day for pacing, either." There is a mannerism which may be called orating—a vociferous imitation of eloquence such as is never indulged in by the foremost speakers, religious or political. Daniel Webster was free from it. Returning from a lecture by Wendell Phillips in Columbus, Ohio, I overheard people comment with a note of disappointment, saying, "I thought he was a great orator." Yet he had held his audience in profoundest attention. William Jennings Bryan makes the audience, no matter how large, distinctly hear his first sentence, and all through to the end there is an earnestness and personal touch which adds moral grandeur to his most common utterance and entitles him to rank among the foremost orators of the day. He has manner without mannerism. "I hate oratory," said Spurgeon. He reminded one of President Garfield in naturalness. If the preacher is intellectually and religiously wide awake, he will not need to fling at "science and philosophy" while the results of each contribute to and surround all his work, in and out of the pulpit. It is a cheap bid for approval from the unthinking. Nor need he swing in the other direction, assuming to be "up to date," ringing the changes on "environment," "evolution," and "out along these lines." Such phrases may be helpful occasionally, but most of the audience want to get away from disputation and doubt, and would prefer "surroundings" to "environment," and some plainer words than "psychological moment," "psychophysics," and the like. He had better say little about Homer, Ajax, Hercules, Demosthenes, Cicero, and Shakespeare, and spending his time on "this one thing," "by all means save some."

How long shall the sermon be? That depends largely on whether he or the chorister is in charge of public service. A ritual is greatly helpful as the part for the laity, and should seldom be eliminated or much abbreviated. If anything is cut out, let it be the song ditties or concert anthems. The Rev. Dan Young, who

had been in youth a colleague of Bishop Hedding, said to Chaplain McCabe, "Brother McCabe, I came to borrow, to borrow, to borrow, to borrow your hoe, your hoe, your hoe, your hoe." He repeated it a half dozen times and then said, "That is an anthem." Often the sermon is spoiled by brevity necessitated by such performances. "The guild of organists" are reformers in the right direction. When the lad was asked, "What did the preacher talk about?" "About an hour," said he. Leaving off his mannerisms he may succeed in a half hour in delivering his message, but the great preachers have seldom been confined to less than an hour. "How long?" is like asking how tall a tree should be, or the proper length of a river. The sermon is the great gun of Protestant Christianity. Spike it, burst it, dismount it, dismantle it, and the battle is lost.

Shall he read his sermons? On this question uniformity ought not to be possible. Usually he should write out in full about what he is going to say. If he use a manuscript, let it be only as the marksman sometimes wants a rest for his rifle—that his shot may be more accurate; but the man so steady as to fire offhand is the better marksman of the two. We have known men whose greatest success was in free delivery from a manuscript and others whom it would have embarrassed.

Shall he announce his themes in advance, especially on the topics of the day? This may be overdone, and also wrongfully neglected. When on a visit to Philadelphia I looked through the Saturday paper for pulpit announcements. I avoided the sensational, selecting the modest statement of preaching services. I was hungry for the Gospel, and Dr. Hatfield, the preacher, furnished the feast. In Columbus, Ohio, was a fine young preacher in a strong church. A new resident, high in railroad control, remarked, "There must be something weak about that church, judging from its sensational pulpit announcements." He united with another church. One risk is that, when the great themes of sin and salvation are to be treated, to announce them would discourage attendance.

There must be variety to avoid monotony and mannerism. These clocks that strike once every half hour become very unsatis-

factory as guides through the night, for it is the same thing repeated too often. George MacDonald's "Old Rogers" was a sage critic unwittingly. He meets the young vicar on the bridge and, as a sensible man, introduces himself:

"I beg your pardon, be you the new vicar?"
"I am. Do you want to see me?"
"I wanted to see your face. That's all, if you'll not take it amiss."
"You will see my face in church next Sunday, if you happen to be there."
"Yes, sir; but you see, sir, on the bridge here the parson is the parson, like, and I am old Rogers, and I looks into his face and he looks into mine, and I says to myself, 'This is my parson.' But o' Sundays he is nobody's parson. He's got his work to do, and it mun be done, and there's an end on't. Did you know the parson that's gone, sir? O, sir, he were a good parson. Many's the time he come and sit at my son's bedside, him that's dead and gone, for a long hour—on a Saturday night, too—and then when I see him up in the desk the next morning I'd say to myself: 'Old Rogers, that's the same man as sat by your son's bedside. Think of that, Old Rogers.' But, somehow, I never did feel right sure o' that same. He didn't seem to have the same cut, somehow, and he didn't talk a bit the same, and when he spoke to me after sermon in the church yard I was always a mind to go into the church again to look up to the pulpit to see if he were really out of it; for this was not the same man, you see."

We attach the more importance to these helps and hindrances because of the grandeur of the calling and the men who have responded to it. An intelligent poorly informed man has lately published derogatory statements as to the intellectual development and scholarly attainments of the average Christian minister. On good authority I make the statement that, with over one hundred thousand filling the ministerial ranks in our country, there are more college diplomas per capita than are in the possession of any other learned profession. And in the nineteen thousand Methodist ministers' pockets you will find no whisky flasks and, possibly, but a hatful of tobacco boxes. Test any other line of men that way! Of late there has been a falling off in the pulpit supply, possibly by reason of an increasing number of useful and more remunerative callings being opened. In twelve years theological students have fallen off nearly twenty per cent. They are offered poor pay. Even Peter said, "We have forsaken all and followed thee; what shall we have therefore?" There is a mystery about the fact that some preachers are conspicuous, popular, and sought after, while

their equals, and even their superiors, remain obscure. But this mystery is as large as human life and reaches into the universe. Why is the proportion of conspicuous merchants, physicians, and lawyers so small? Scarcely five in a hundred. May it not be that better supplies are needed for the downtown church and the Hard-scrabble Circuit? Even the Master was despised and rejected, and had not where to lay his head. The estate he left was his garments, possibly worth five dollars. This subject derives its importance from the importance of the calling. John Quincy Adams said, "The pulpit is the throne of modern eloquence." The man so much quoted now in all lands, even though not the safest of religious leaders, Ralph Waldo Emerson, said of the ministry: "It is the first office in the world, a holy office, coeval with the world. Christianity has given us two inestimable advantages: the Sabbath, the jubilee of the whole world, and the institution of preaching." In an earlier time Goldsmith wrote:

> With meek and unaffected grace
> His looks adorned the venerable place.
> Truth from his lips prevailed with double sway,
> And fools who came to mock remained to pray.

And this theme has its place in the Scriptures. Moses sought to excuse himself from a mission to Egypt by saying to Jehovah, "I am of slow speech and slow tongue." To remedy that Aaron was appointed. Jeremiah said, "I know not how to speak." Jesus called James and John "Sons of Thunder." If they spoke as they wrote the title described their preaching. Paul was discounted as "weak" in bodily presence and in speech "contemptible." He seems not to have been so before the learning of Athens, or Agrippa, or Cæsar. We know he beckoned with his hand to command silence, though that hand wore a manacle. In his defense before Cæsar "no man stood by"—yes, "the Lord"—and instead of self-defense he preached the gospel in hearing of the lion's roar. Apollos was an "eloquent man," which may be translated "learned." He fascinated the Corinthians so as to vie with Peter and Paul among those ancient lovers of art. The foiled officers reported back to the Sanhedrin concerning Jesus, "Never man spake like this man." "He spake as one having authority." To

Magdalene he only needed to say "Mary," but it scattered night, from her and the world, into light eternal. His Sermon on the Mount, his parables imperishable, his divine prayers, his wrathful "Woe! Woe! Woe!" to hypocrisy, his description of the judgment, ending in heaven and hell, all in truth and manner rise above all that was ever spoken. He was and is "the Word."

He said, "Go preach." Look along the line. What a colonnade through the field of history preachers furnish!—Elijah, Peter, Paul, Chrysostom—not only golden-mouthed but sworded and martyred and fearless as an angel; Savonarola, sending auditors home bewailing their sins through Florence; Knox, logical at the beginning, then so impassioned as to "beat the pulpit into blads, and flie oot o' it." He set three thousand hardy Scots to weeping. John Wesley, too great every way to be yet fully written up; Whitefield, able to draw tears by the way he could pronounce "Mesopotamia"; Jonathan Edwards, whose "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God" gave alarm in time to frighten sinners and save our nation. May the power not desert us and settle over Korea to stay! Dr. Thomas H. Stockton, from whose lips the Lord's Prayer or the benediction was an apocalypse. He was chaplain to Congress three times in succession. In preaching before senators and representatives men were startled, and Supreme Court judges looked as if arraigned before the Judge of all the earth. I seem yet to see him—seated as an invalid, his physician at hand, lecturing before the university, thin, white, fearless, with introspective look—say, "I am an immortal spirit."

But that splendid list is too numerous and long to mention. It is increasing in numbers and not losing in courage or talent. It were easy to name them by the hundred now living. The Christian ministry for two thousand years, and now more than ever, refreshes the world, because supplied from the water of life from beneath the throne of God.

Isaac Crook

Art. IV.—THE APOSTLE OF THE SUPERMAN

The new generation that arose in Germany after the great struggle for national unity has produced in Friedrich Nietzsche the most radical thinker of modern times. His words have come with compelling power to the men of a new age, and the student of the thought of these latter days encounters his influence on every hand. The spell cast by this brilliant genius of the nineteenth century was not merely the magic of his words, but the boldness of his arguments in their appeal to the skeptical mind.

The reader looks in vain for a systematized philosophy in Nietzsche, and with difficulty disentangles from its mythological garb the thought that forms his doctrine. An attempt to set forth his principal thought, with its antecedents and its *raison d'être*, presupposes a familiarity with the philosophy of Schopenhauer, for during his student days in Leipsic, in 1865, Nietzsche was captivated by the latter's work, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, and its pessimism reëchoed in his heart. This new philosophy showed him that this life was all most miserable and that its fleeting joys left a sting of pain, so that nonexistence seemed preferable to existence in so unhappy a world. Underlying all life, Schopenhauer had shown, was a blind, irrepressible desire which he named "will," and this was without any definite aim. If, therefore, man would escape its constant pressure, nothing but its denial could effect it. The fact that no lasting pleasure could be derived from things temporal brought him to the conclusion that this world must be a delusion, and that the gratification of our desires must lie beyond the things seen. It is therefore only poor comfort to the gloomy heart when he declares that a temporary pleasure could be derived from the contemplation of the beautiful, while a lasting one could be derived only from the denial of the will and asceticism. For a time these thoughts controlled young Nietzsche, but in his doctrine of the superman he turned this denial of the will unto life into an affirmation of the will unto life. Here it is necessary to consider some of the other antecedents.

One may call the years between 1865 and 1878 the formative

period in his life and the subsequent years the period of independence. At the beginning of his early period he had already launched out on the sea of doubt, having renounced the religion of his father and grandfather, both of whom had been clergymen. From deep piety he had plunged into skepticism, and the change seems the more remarkable and deplorable in the light of his fervor that—only a few years before—had caused him to refer to religion as the corner stone of all knowledge (1859). His insatiable thirst for knowledge had led him into the maze of doubt from which he reappeared as an agnostic and misanthrope. He believed science and religion to be antagonistic, and decided in favor of the former. As a "searcher after the truth" he felt that he had entered the *via dolorosa* which should eventually lead to his martyrdom. He waged war against all that the human race holds dear, especially against religion of every kind, and in his *furor religiosus* he finally exclaimed: "Dead are all the gods! Now I intend that the superman shall live!" This perversion seems strange also in the light of his genial, artistic temperament, but its explanation lies in the fact that he was an aristocrat of the most sanguine type. It explains to us his inbred hatred against all that is common, ordinary, low, and vulgar, his scorn for falsehood, shams, and deception, also his vigorous attacks on systems whose foundations he believed to have been reared on deceptions and lies. As such he loved the elegance, refinement, and grace which the forms of Grecian art, the spirit of the Renaissance in Italy, the culture of France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constantly revealed to him. And this enthusiasm for aristocratic ideals was eclipsed only by the contempt in which he held all those who were not of this class. The brutality of an aristocrat shines out of his scorn for Socrates, the contempt for Jesus of Nazareth and his fishermen disciples, and out of his remark concerning Martin Luther, when he called him "the most eloquent and the most immodest of all peasants that Germany ever had." It is this aristocratic radicalism that makes him hate every attempt on the part of the masses to oppose the privileged classes, and that is irritated by every socialistic, anarchistic, populistic, or feministic propaganda which aims at the unseating of his oligarchy.

The same feeling guided him in the selection of his books. There was, first of all, Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann, which he referred to as one of the few immortal works. Next came Emerson's essays, a copy of which he carried with him for a long time. Then Shakespeare, Byron, Heine. Already as a student at Pforta he had selected Pascal, Montaigne, and the moralists as his favorite French writers, and later he became fascinated by the works of Stendhal and his great pupil, Taine. Last of all came Gobineau, whose kinship he recognized from the work *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*. Nietzsche believed in being everything or nothing at all (*Alles oder Nichts*), therefore he threw himself into his work with a whole soul. His insatiable thirst for knowledge was aided by an unusual power of penetration. No less a person than the famous philologist Ritschl was the first to discern this, and he recommended the brilliant young man for the professorship of the classics in the University of Basle. The appointment was made before Nietzsche had received his doctorate. During his professional career Nietzsche enjoyed the friendship of the celebrated art critic, J. Burckhardt, through whom his fondness for Greek art and the Italian Renaissance was deepened considerably. Prodigious indeed is the work which he performed in his profession, considering the minuteness and care which he bestowed on his lectures. Imagine his plan of covering in academic lectures running through eight years all the phases of Greek philology! But such profound work was his joy and inspiration, and he told his friends that he had chosen philology for his occupation because it was the "proper work for aristocrats and the mandarins of intellect." His talent in music at one time made him think seriously of becoming a composer. But he gave up this plan although he continued to occupy himself with it. His romantic spirit leaned toward Richard Wagner, having been aroused through the latter's Tristan and Isolde. When, later on, he became intimate with this composer he began to extol him as the high priest of art and the true genius of music. For him, and in the interest of the Bayreuth playhouse, Nietzsche toured the country as a lecturer. But his aristocratic ideals received a severe shock when he saw Wagner currying public favor by turning to religious motifs in

his Parsifal. The friendship came to a close, and the object of Nietzsche's praise became the object of his condemnation. It was, however, quite impossible to forget the associations he had enjoyed with the great musician, and he spoke of them in these significant words: "*Wegner war eine Krankheit*" ("Wagner was a disease").

Turning now to Nietzsche's Weltanschauung, it will be better understood when it is borne in mind that it is the reflection of the unstable views of the educated classes of Europe during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The channel into which these individualistic, skeptical, utilitarian, eudemonistic, and evolutional currents of thought converge is that strange, yet remarkable, prose-poem of Nietzsche entitled "Thus spake Zarathustra." The Zarathustra speaking unto the few is not the ancient priest of the Avesta religion, but the incorporation of the man as Nietzsche desires to see him, and is in many respects patterned after Nietzsche himself. Under the veil of mythology and allegory the romantic mind of the writer has concealed the meaning of his thought because of his conviction that the full-orbed truth of his deductions would not and could not be endured in his generation. So it has been considered a book of seven seals, with its flouting ideas, sententious epigrams, and startling aphorisms behind which we cannot deny a marvelous poetic genius. More argumentative, however, is his "Genealogy of Morals," in which the negative side of his problem is very prominent. It begins with a peremptory demand for a "Transvaluation of all values." "No people could live that did not, in the first place, know value. If it would maintain itself it must not value as its neighbor doth. Much that one people has called good another has called scorn and dishonor: thus I found it." [1] So he concludes that all moral standards are wrong and that they are in need of revision, a devaluation; for the origin of the concept and judgment "good" is explained by him on this wise: "Unselfish actions were originally praised and denominated 'good' by those to whom they were manifested; *i. e.*, to whom they were useful; afterward this origin of praise was forgotten, and unselfish actions, since they were always accustomed to be praised as good, were, as a matter of course, also felt as such – as if, in themselves,

[1] Works, vol. viii, p. 76.

they were something good." The complete upheaval that would result from such a "devaluation" is the very thing he postulates for the inauguration of the new regime, when he says that a change of values means a change of creators of values. In this skeptic temper he denies the existence of the absolute, of the thing *per se*. They all are creations of man's fancy; "God, to him, is a supposition, a thought which bendeth all which is straight and turneth around whatever standeth still." And with a sneer more skeptical than that of Pilate he asks, "What is truth?" and thereby begins his assault against the moral criteria that have hitherto passed unchallenged. As violent as the oriental sect of the Assassins, he concurs in their device: "Nothing is true; everything is allowable." With Schopenhauer he traces the human instincts and impulses to their fountainhead. Schopenhauer had given them the collective name "will"; Nietzsche similarly sees in the concentration of the human impulses a will, a desire unto power. This desire unto power, he tells us, is the underlying principle in every organism, be it plant, animal, or man. In the manner in which it asserts itself it takes up the struggle for existence—ending, of course, in the survival of the fittest. It has been noted that Schopenhauer taught a temporary escape from earth's misery by the contemplation of the beautiful. Nietzsche, too, tells us that art and morals are man's invention for the gratification of the æsthetic and moral instincts; but he asserts that through misconception man gradually began to idolize the things created at the expense of the instincts or impulses, and to this he ascribes the perversion of criteria especially in the realm of morals. The fact that the instincts may be either diseased or sound offers him opportunity to show that out of such conditions have arisen the robust and vigorous and the sickly, decadent types of man. To the former he ascribes the view of the optimist, to the latter that of the pessimist. Though at first he leaned toward Schopenhauer's view of the wretchedness of this life, he turned from it. We see this in his argument that endeavors to show that it is impossible for man to call life good or evil since it cannot be viewed in all its relations; besides, the living are incompetent to judge because of their interest in the struggle, and the dead—they speak not! Now, concludes Nietzsche,

inasmuch as the individual is not in a position to say whether life is worth living it is incumbent upon him to live exuberantly, "lavishly," "tropically," intensively, for the realization of the ideals of the beautiful. To do this one must refuse to be shackled by rules and conventions of society which suppress the natural impulses, and which stamp as bad those instincts which contribute to man's greater power and vigor, namely, cunning, cruelty, combativeness, etc. In short, this will unto power must be given free course; his development must be untrammeled by morals, ethics, science, or religion.

His study of morals has led him to accept two elementary types of morals—those of the common herd and those of the aristocrats. The one he named "Sklavenmoral," the other "Herrenmoral," and he asserts that all civilizations have attempted a harmonization of the two. Moral values, wherever they exist, are those of the ruling class; this may have at one time been the ruled class, where the morals of the herd obtained. Witness such civilizations as came up through conquest—Rome, the Frankish empire, the Moors. These races were the creators of moral values. Whatever was agreeable to them became the standard of life and conduct. It was nothing else but the principle, Might makes right. The race that he would see spring up conquers these underlings and this common herd; it should be superior in body and intellect, stalwart, intrepid, fierce foes, men who hate the commonplace and despise deception and lies. Their heroic nature makes them free from sympathy; to desire it would be contemptible, to offer it would be an insult. We ask what moral code would prevail among such a class of men? Nietzsche answers, only that which prudence and foresight dictate. Eudemonistic, you see. They are law unto themselves. Education, marriage, and the propagation of their kind come under the jealous care which seeks the perpetuation of the strong type. Their god is their desire unto power, for unto it they ascribe their place and position, and the offering they bring is their joyous life, their optimism! Quite different from these, says Nietzsche, are the morals of the common herd. Pessimism is the keynote of their lives, and their hatred is even toward their conquerors. To them these mighty ones have ever

been the hateful ones, the barbarians, the vandals. Thus Nietzsche has tried to show how one class of men has condemned as bad what the other has extolled as good, and thereby believes he proves that the moral standards have always been arbitrary. By this sweeping deduction he would condemn Christian morals as well. They, to him, have sprung from the *milieu* of the enslaved Jews. "It was the Jews who, with most frightfully consistent logic, dared to subvert the aristocratic equation of values." And he fumes over the fact that their "unparalleled, popular ingenuity of morals" has subverted the strong and noble race of the Romans. The essence of all the highest values, he tells us, is to-day acknowledged in the persons of three Jews and one Jewess (Jesus of Nazareth, Peter the fisherman, Paul the tentmaker, and Mary the mother of Jesus). His sharpest shafts are aimed against the priesthood. "The greatest haters in all history were the priests, and they were at all times the haters with most *esprit*." He characterizes their instinct to rule as a means to gain the confidence of the masses in order to first become their guardians and defenders, but later their tyrants. While he does not deny their disciplinary power in controlling the masses, still he sees in their deceptions and delusions a great obstacle to the development of the race he desires. Thank God for that! For to them he attributes the origin of the belief in a life to come. The haven of the pessimist, he tells us, is death: there all his woes are ended. Yet the panacea for his ills does not appear inviting to him; in fact, he shrinks from stepping into the grave. Nietzsche thinks he has found a solution to make the process less repulsive, and postulates that the priest came in and held out to the fearing and quaking mortal the hope of a life better than this. He adduces as a proof for his argument the Jews, who, like slaves, were subject to the aristocratic Romans, and whose sense of independence coupled with their weakness and inability to shake off the yoke of bondage had caused the beatification of the oppressed and the hope in a compensatory future with happiness for the oppressed and damnation for the oppressor!

Just how he would readjust these values would be interesting to ascertain, for it cannot be supposed that so complete a change shall come without preparation. Furthermore, he denies the free-

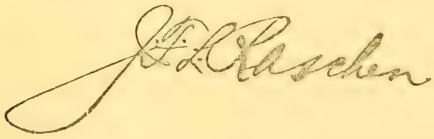
dom of the will and the existence of the soul separate from the body. These are no new problems, to be sure, yet it is interesting to learn that he judges the will qualitatively, saying there is only a strong or a weak will, and this will is inseparable from its action just as the property of flashing is inseparable from lightning. What has given rise to the illusion of the freedom of the will, he says, is the separation of the will from its action. So it came to pass, on the supposition that the use to which the will is directed marks the power of the individual rather than the sum total of this power, that the equality of man has been asserted and the aristocratic ideal became defeated. Consequently, the weak took courage, aspired to higher power; but, while they condemned as bad or evil the desire unto power of the aristocrats, they labeled as legitimate and permissible the very desire they themselves had assumed. Now, the positive side of the argument touches on the superman. In harmony with the principle of evolution, Nietzsche sees in man the culmination of the development from the worm to the ape, thence to man. But he says also that man has started on a downward road, and he points to state, religion, and art to prove his contention. All three are in a decadent form; the first in its emphasis of the democratic ideal, the second by its worship of illusions such as God, eternal life, etc., and the latter—especially in the case of his former idol, Wagner—by its vulgarization! Still this decadence does not lead him to despair; in fact, he likens it unto an autumn that precedes a springtime of regeneration. Decadent man is to be followed by superman. This type of man, he avers, can be attained only when the criteria of to-day—the democratic and Christian—are renounced and the aristocratic, such as prevailed at the time of the Augustan age in Rome, are recognized.

Now, this term "superman" is not original with Nietzsche. It had been used by Goethe, who named his Faust a superman. Likewise Feuerbach, Heine, Gutzkow, and Eduard von Hartmann had advanced similar ideas, that might best be formulated in the words of Feuerbach, who said, "Man alone is, and must be, our god." It is the same idea expressed by James Cotton Morrison in his Service of Man. It goes hand in hand with the thought of

the perfection of the human race by artificial selection, one of the advocates of which was Frederick the Great, and later, the poet Jordan. Schopenhauer had advocated asceticism, and the denial of the will, and his pessimism would eventually lead to self-destruction. Nietzsche, like him, also advocated that the weak and pessimistic men should end this life: "Life is but suffering—others say, and they do not lie. Well, then, see to it that you die! See to it that life which is but suffering come to an end. And let this be the teaching of your virtue: Thou shalt kill thyself, thou shalt steal thyself away." How does the superman differ from the common mortal? He is "free from the happiness of slaves; saved from gods and adorations, fearless and fear-inspiring; great and lonely." He spurns the moral code of the present, for he is a law unto himself; he despises the democratic ideals: *"égalité, liberté, fraternité."*. Nietzsche, you see, emphasizes the inequality of mankind just as had Huxley and Gobineau. Of course he is as unpolitical as can be expected. "The state is called the coldest of cold monsters. And coldly it lieth, and this lie creepeth out of its mouth: 'I, the state, am the people.' It is a lie! Creators they were who created the peoples and hung one belief and one love over them." These lords are to be the lawmakers. "Therefore, O my brethren, a new nobility is requisite which is opposed unto all mob and all that is tyrannic and writeth on new tables the word 'noble.' Because these men are egoistic they are anti-idealistic. They are come to bring war and not peace, and in their victory they advance civilization. I do not ask you to work, but to fight. Let your work be a fight and your peace a victory."

For this superman ideal he postulates the palingenesis of things. This idea did not come to him until 1881, when he was in Maria Sils in the Engadine seeking to recover his health. It almost overwhelmed him. His starting point was the theory of the conservation of energy. His manner of reasoning was on this wise: Energy is not infinite, but limited; if there were any quantitative change, it would have resulted in the diminution of the world or its growth into infinite proportions. If we assume that this energy in endless years produces a continuous line of combinations, then the limited quantity of energy must of neces-

sity reproduce a series of combinations that existed at one time or other. He had this in mind when he said, "Thou teachest that there is a great year of becoming, a monstrous great year. It must, like an hourglass, ever turn upside down again in order to run down and out. . . . I come eternally back unto this one and the same life in order to teach the eternal recurrence of things." He had planned to spend ten years in further study of the natural sciences in Vienna and Paris in order to establish a scientific basis for his idea of the palingenesis, but he found that it could not be supported by the atomistic theory, and he therefore gave up his plan; nevertheless, the palingenesis remained the central thought of his later years. And this is the end of our discussion. The boldness of his attack and the logic of his argument have been as shocking as they have been destructive. The novelty of his thought, which focuses the current views from many quarters, has made him attractive to many, and therefore very dangerous. Between the camp of his followers and that of his bitter opponents stands the public, undecided and perplexed. Still the close reader will not be misled by his arguments, however beguiling; besides, there are too many paradoxes requiring a satisfactory explanation. The thinker Nietzsche was, after all, too much of a dilettante in the natural sciences and history to bring conviction to the men of science; and one must not forget his utterance with regard to his writings: that he came not to give men a creed, but merely desired to influence the souls of those "who know."



Art. V.—AN OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF LIFE IN THE CHURCHES

The battle between the pessimist and the optimist is always on. Most of us have elements of both, and find ourselves inclined to sway now this way and now that as we are affected by outward circumstances or by physical or mental states. The progress of the world furnishes materials and occasions for both. It is not an unbroken, universal upward sweep. Sometimes a repulse here or there breaks the line of advance and sometimes the whole world seems to be slipping back. We are always justified in asking about the present trend, and trying to find reasons in things as they are to justify our faith in the better things yet to be. Such a quest in the present life of the churches of this country yields results highly favorable to the optimistic view. Three things I mention as determining factors in church life: its trend of doctrine, its work of extension, and its output of character. If in these particulars we find conditions good, we need not very seriously mind incidental shortcomings, and sporadic indications of prosperity will afford us little real consolation if in these we are failing.

First, then, as to trend of doctrine. In the sense of living teaching doctrine has always a trend and is going somewhither. Theology is in constant process of being thought over. No theology is vital to a man until, with or without aid, he has thought it out for himself. Besides, new forms and modes of thought give rise to new questions in religion, and the old answers will not fit, not necessarily because they are untrue but because they were made for other questions, some of which are now obsolete. Some men are always trying the old answers on the new questions—an ill-starred undertaking which is foredoomed to fail, and sets other some to thinking illogically that the answers are discredited and that the whole system of faith is toppling. The first effect of new questions is unsettling, and uncertainty as to the faith produces weakness and depression of spiritual life; but afterward, if followed to the end, "It yieldeth the peaceable fruits of righteousness unto them that are exercised thereby." In comparatively

recent times three influences have combined to disturb religious thinking: the general acceptance of the scientific doctrine of evolution, the employment of new and more exact canons of biblical criticism, and the application of advanced methods in psychology to the elucidation of spiritual experience and life. Not only have these important movements invaded the field of religious thought, they have also given us a new type of thinking to appeal to. We are ourselves witnesses to this fact. We may hold the old doctrines, but we find ourselves compelled to think them out by new processes. No man who is at once vitally religious and vitally intellectual can think himself into the exact forms of a past generation. The period of transition which these influences introduced is not yet over. We have won the new positions, but we have by no means finished the task of subduing and organizing the conquered territory. "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." If, now, we take an account of stock, we shall find that we have not parted with the old fundamentals. They are not there unchanged, but they are still there. The timorous souls who cried, "If the foundations be destroyed, what shall the righteous do?" have had their wail for naught. It was supposed at first that evolution really explained everything; that it was more than a synthesized statement of processes, and since it held in itself a sufficient account of the beginning and a sufficient promise and potency of all unfolding and consummation, that it relieved us of all necessity for a God or a religion. Criticism has not dethroned the Bible from its unique position among sacred literatures. It has shown that the value of the Bible is exclusively religious. We are ceasing to regard it as a thesaurus of inspired information on all subjects, but as a manual of religion it is still in a class by itself. In it God speaks to the human soul as nowhere else. If it is a mere natural evolution of human strivings after God, then human nature in the Hebrew race was something radically different from human nature in general. For spiritual life and all questions related thereto the Bible is still the final court of appeal. So with the other doctrines which have been generally regarded as constituting the essential basis of the Christian faith. Christ as not only the revealer but also the revelation of God to man, an atonement which answers the

demands of eternal law, a spiritual life which may be defined as the life of God in the soul of man—all these are retained, although they are conceived under new forms. This is a result of the extension of the scientific method beyond the limits claimed by those who advanced it. It is scientific in religion, as in all else, to submit new theories to practical tests. We are beginning to recognize the fact that the final word in religious thinking is not to be found in the vagaries of daring speculators or in the closet conclusions of scholars, but in the wrought-out message of men who are dealing directly with souls in need. Brown-Sequard's elixir and Koch's lymph were the work of physicians of the very first rank in medical research, but they failed under the test of the ordinary practitioner in the clinic. A doctrine of salvation must be one that actually saves. It does not signify how correct and perfectly fashioned it may seem to some certain "ninety and nine just men who need no repentance" unless it impels them to go in search of the lost one in the wilderness, and proves effectual in bringing him back from his wandering. A doctrine of development must be one that will develop the spiritual life not merely in a select and serene few but in ordinary, untrained, commonplace, busy men. As the general practitioner is the final critic of theories in medicine, so the evangelistic pastor has the last word on theories in religion. Progress in doctrine seems to conform to the theory of evolution; there is a surprising fecundity and variety of production, but final results are secured by the survival of the fittest, and the fittest is that which is best adapted to the environment of a world that is lost in sin.

In this process the churches are gradually drawing together. Many of the old discussions have been dismissed. Only from far and isolated corners do we hear the clash of strife between Calvinist and Arminian, Baptist and Pedobaptist. The combatants are being disarmed of their terrible array of proof texts. Men are studying the Bible not to gather collections of texts joined by some superficial similarity, but to trace the development of great ideas which are involved in the process of redemption and evolve with its unfolding. The Bible is no longer regarded as anything like a code of laws but, rather, as a revelation of law. We have a new

conception of spiritual laws, which views them not as statutory enactments but as the natural laws which govern the interaction of personalities. We are finding that truth, in its last analysis, is a revelation of personality and not a collection of abstract propositions. Influence is not a mysterious efflux from personality, but the direct consequence of the immediate impact of one personality upon another. Any doctrines we may hold must square with this notion of spiritual law. Notions of atonement and forgiveness must be personal and dynamic, rather than artificial and forensic. Doctrines of spiritual life which hold as essential the peculiar experiences of any special type of personality are giving place to notions that recognize the spiritual equality of all temperaments. We are approaching all questions from new angles, and our old points of collision are out of the field of our real thinking. As a consequence, the pulpit messages in all our churches are coming to agree so nearly that an occasional exchange of preachers creates no stir or sense of strangeness in the minds of the congregation.

What of the work of extension? We are coming in this country to a change of method in consequence of the narrowing area for the work of the propagandist. The country is practically evangelized. Few men, if any, are out of the church because of lack of opportunity to enter it intelligently. Men are rejecting Christ not through unbelief but because of their unwillingness to accept Christ's program for life. Two methods of propagandism are open: the indirect method of moral leavening which gradually eliminates the hostility to the Christian standard of living, so bringing men in easier reach of the church, and the more direct method of constant, organized pressure of personal influence which seeks out men in a systematic search to lead them to Christ. It is to be noted that great revivals to-day are marked chiefly by their intense, thorough organization. The winning churches are those whose work is highly systematized and constant. Gains of this kind are of necessity slow and steady, but we do gain. Careful estimates from time to time agree that the churches are steadily increasing in proportion to the population. Two things of special note in current church life may not improperly be dragged in here. The first of these is the great investment of money in religious

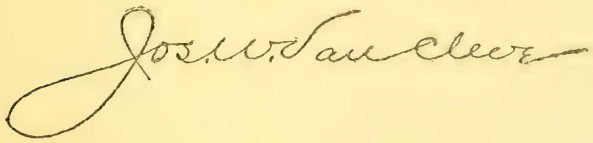
enterprises. Hundreds of new churches of great cost, widely distributed, wisely adapted to a broadening range of churchly activities, millions of dollars invested in colleges, hospitals, orphanages, homes of various sorts, all testify to an intense and vigorous life. They indicate the deep, strong hold which the churches have upon practical men. Of the same import is the other movement, the organized men's movement. Hitherto church organizations have been usually organizations of women. The men's movement is the very latest development. It shows the direction in which the church life is growing. Every considerable congregation is coming to have its club or brotherhood or men's organized Bible class. These separate bodies are forming into wider organizations in accordance with the polity of their several denominations. The masculine element in the churches is coming to greater prominence and a stronger appeal is going from the churches to unsaved men, and the men constitute the larger part of the unchurched population.

In the endeavor to evangelize the heathen peoples the churches have never before confronted conditions so hopeful and inviting. The work constantly outruns our expectations and our liberality. In India, where we dreamed one day of ten thousand Christians, we are making annual additions that crowd the ten-thousand mark and sometimes pass it. China, revolutionizing her educational system, putting the opium traffic in process of extinction, introducing the New Testament into the schools of some of her populous provinces, and purchasing copies of it by the tens of thousands, offers the greatest field for missionary enterprise that has existed in all the centuries. Korea and the Philippines are displaying records of missionary success that border on the miraculous. Think of a Korean city with more than three thousand Christians and a prayer meeting that passes the thousand mark. Think of the tens of thousands of converts gathered in the Philippines since the American occupation. Think of the new lines of attack upon the great Moslem problem, which are being opened with splendid promise for this final contest of religions. Concurrent with these great movements in the foreign field is a great awakening of missionary interest throughout the church at home. The Student

Volunteer movement, which has just closed its great convention of more than five thousand accredited delegates from the choice spirits of our colleges; the Mission Study movement, with its increasing thousands of classes meeting for the study of this great problem; the Laymen's Missionary Movement, with its enlistment of strong, clear-headed, practical business men and its emphatic message that Christian missions afford a most profitable field for the investment of money; the increase of giving for missions—all these testify to the deep and earnest life of the churches as manifest in their growing sense of responsibility to all men for Christ's sake. Everywhere the skies are full of hope.

Finally, what as to the output of character? This is the ultimate test of success or failure. Nothing is gained by inducing a man to accept a theology or to enter a church unless he is thereby lifted to a higher level of moral living. Mere proselytism is the most utter waste of effort yet devised. No other questions are as important as these: Are we raising the standard of personal character and life? Are the people in our churches becoming more honest and truthful and pure? Are we lifting them to higher, finer moral living than has been attained by the masses of our people hitherto? We still lift the people who come to us above their old selves, but it may honestly be doubted whether or not we are bringing them up to any higher standards of private character than our fathers held. One thing is certain, that discipline in the churches is far less rigorous than in former years. We have, however, this distinct advantage, that the moral life of the churches has not declined. Men are living freely and voluntarily on levels that were guarded in the past by careful and rigid discipline. But if the moral life of the churches is not much higher than formerly, it is certainly much broader. The old notion of salvation expressed in the words "a heaven to gain and a hell to shun" is giving way to a larger interpretation. We are coming to see that salvation sets a man to manufacturing heaven on his own account out of the raw material around him, and to wiping out a little of the hell which is all too abundant in this life, whatever we may conclude about the next. Salvation is ceasing to be regarded as a purely personal matter. We are beginning to recognize the significance

of the fact that men are saved, not as isolated individuals, but as individuals in society. Religion is not separated from any of the concerns of this life or from any of our points of contact with others. Whole areas of public and corporate activity which have been turned over to corruption and decay are beginning to be redeemed. A new civic and social conscience has been born. The churches are addressing themselves more openly to the advocacy of civic and social regeneration. Such questions as child labor, the general labor problem, predatory wealth, municipal misgovernment and corruption, the saloon, the gambling evil, and the unspeakable "white slave" traffic are engaging the attention of the churches as never before. Righteousness is pushing out of the strictly passive, personal stage into the aggressive type that sings "The Son of God goes forth to war" and then girds on the sword to "follow in his train." As a consequence, the country has been enjoying the greatest cleaning up of its history, a work that is preparing the way for the further winning of men for the kingdom. The churches are greater than they have ever been in the history of the country. Their influence was never more potent, their adjustment to their problems never more intelligent, their future never more hopeful.



Art. VI.—"ARMS AND THE MAN"

But for the requirements of hexameter Virgil might have sung of "man and arms"—and in that order. I used to think that he ought to have done so, sacrificing prosody if necessary. "Man before metals" of course; or there would have been no metals discovered, no battles to wage, no issues to quarrel about. Man first—then love and hate and war. Yet not invariably. And even if this immortal singer had been unembarrassed by poetic rules he still might have sung of "arms and the man." For if man invents, discovers, plants flags on new continents, he has also to grow toward a full use of his new possessions. His own personal development follows that of his new device. For example, the flying machine is no longer the comic dream of versifiers; it is an accomplished fact. Man has actually *flown*. But how long it will be before he can fly when and whither he will, in defiance of weather and without jeopard of his neck—in short, how long it will take man the aviator to perfect the use of his own daring device, is by no means clear. One recalls the case of that experimenter in high explosives whose first demonstration of the power of his new formula nearly cost him his life. The automobile is here; but the "slaughter of innocents" in our streets bears tragic witness that man has not yet learned how to handle his new triumph. What thoughtful student but realizes that certain scandals and enormities of our day were impossible under an older regime? Socialism is a passionate cry of man-alive against his brother's inhumanity and ineptitude in the exploitation of huge advantage. What are the ungodly fortunes of a few modern Crœsuses, what the frank brutalities of an industrial age, what the hard commercializing of life's finest sentiments and abilities, but confession that our hands have not yet grown in skill and grasp to handle the new tools with which we are so splendidly furnished? To do a man's full part, in this day of complicated and delicate instruments of work and war, takes an ampler man. "God give us men"—but larger built and finer grained!

Nowhere are the riches of modernity more embarrassing than

in the realm of truth with which we, as ministers, deal. It is sheerest truism to say that we touch immensities, profundities, infinities, beyond the guess of our spiritual sires. The hammers of modern thought have knocked many partitions out of the world we live in, giving us new sense and conception of the bigness of the Father's house. We have flung away some of the old measuring lines, struck rich veins far below the old workings of philosophy, surprised ourselves with the sheer daring of our mental adventure. We think more generously of man, more worthily of God, more harmoniously of the universe. Not always willingly, to be sure; sometimes with a sort of pathetic reluctance have we discarded old categories and learned to think in new terms. The new house into which we have moved finds us lonely sometimes, half homesick for the familiar, if narrow, walls of yesterday. But the old house is demolished and the new is ours. And not only to the Brunos, Bacons and Kants, the Kelvins, Le Comtes and Danas, but also to the "great heretics of yesterday" are we indebted for the splendor of our new surroundings. Glimpses of God at work, dreams of man as God's partner, visions of human destiny passing the ecstasies, and even the impious queries of fifty or even thirty years ago, are the sheer platitudes of the modern pulpit. It would be easy to bankrupt one's store of adjectives: the very wind and whiff of modern thinking is tonic. Proximity to great truths "disturbs us with the joy of elevated thoughts." We have the feeling of being as far ahead of our sires in theological as in agricultural or governmental equipment. Conceptions whose profundity goes beyond the soundings of Wesley and Melanchthon; truths which for splendid audacity outdare the flights of Fénelon and Francis; ministerial accouterments outclassing the furnishings of Benedict and Zwingli and Augustine, as the modern mill eclipses the spinning wheel, or the Twentieth Century Limited the colonial stagecoach —these are ours! Yet by no means for display or mental self-aggrandizement. Of small avail is the superior tool which rusts out: which the world admires but cannot manage. "Know ye not," asked Ahab once, "that Ramoth is ours, and we be still and take it not?" thus intimating a stinging truth—that a possession may be ours and yet not really possessed by us, that we may be slow in

asserting claim to and use of that which belongs to us by divine devise. Comparisons are both odious and unprofitable, yet this appears, that, whereas the modern farmers harvests an increased crop at decreased labor, and the present-day manufacturer in open market puts his primitive competitor out of business, we of the pulpit, more superbly furnished than ever before, painfully illustrate the law of the diminishing return. I need not adduce figures, facts would remain the same in the face of statistics far more heartening than any the censusmongers have to offer. Remembering always that the finest results of modern gospelizing are most incapable of being tabulated in columns or weighed on commercial scales, that the bigness of our adventure forbids premature forecasts as to its result, there still lingers in many eager minds a stubborn sense of incompetence, as if the Deering Harvester should show fewer bushels per acre than the old hand method; as if a Maxim gun missed the mark oftener than did the blunderbuss or flintlock of our forefathers; as if the Lusitania had little else to commend her beside the height of her funnels and the excellence of her cuisine!

But speaking more particularly, take our modern doctrine of the divine immanence. Not that the thought is new, for it is older than Christianity, and Allen, in his helpful volume, shows how the church has oscillated between the Greek and the Roman spirit, between the doctrines of immanence and transcendence. "In him we live," said the chief apostle. And, as Foster points out, Jesus's doctrine of the Father is rich implication of the best content of the idea of immanence. God is not only "Back of the wheat . . . the seed and shower," but present, working, self-expressive. Not a theatric, staged God, showing himself in tragic roles particularly and making inconsequent irruptions into the audience now and then, but God the strength by which all things consist, the "sparkle of the star and life of every creature"—this is God as we worship and preach him. With a finer reverence than that of Moses we have learned to stand before a common bush unsandaled. But this also appears, that, however well this great truth worked in the ministry of Jesus, it goes disappointingly in ours. Carlyle groaned against an absentee God who "sits in heaven and does nothing";

but He who, according to that august conception, sat "Enthroned amid the radiant spheres, and glory like a garment wears," at least got himself obeyed better than does the modern *All-Father*, who lives everywhere and "does everything." If the Puritan lived in momentary dread of being snared in some act of folly and whisked away without time for tears or prayers; if he rarely expected God to repeat overtures of mercy, and looked to heaven not as the consummation of an age-long purpose, but as a piece of famous luck, a sort of grim surprise, to an absent and capricious Deity, he at least made better work of his precarious calling than do we of the intimate daily calls of an immanent God. Familiarity breeds a sort of *nonchalance*, if not contempt. Perhaps Moses would have kept his shoes *on* if he had seen "Every common bush afire with God." Paul might have been less obedient to the heavenly vision if he had understood modern psychology. Nay, Jesus could scarcely have cried out so bitterly from the cross if he had realized that "God is never so far away as even to be near." We have grasped the better thought—to our hurt. He whose "increasing purpose" runs through all change and decay, whose considerateness of individual sparrows and separate hairs we at length believe, the God of all gifts and inspirer of every fine impulse, is too near for ordinary eyes to realize his royalty. If there is neither "near" nor "far" with him, why talk about seeking him "while he may be found"? If he loves so well let him return his own calls! "If (God) will have me king, why (God) may crown me without my stir." Such is too frequently the modern mood—the spiritual offset and disadvantage of a great doctrinal gain.

But let us follow the suggestion further. The man who stays away from church need scarcely remind us that he has merely taken us at our word. Being assured that "every place is hallowed ground," he cannot be altogether blamed if he prefers a forest cathedral to a stuffy church, not to say "sermons in stones" to ordinary pulpit productions. "The time is coming," said Jesus to the Samaritan woman, "when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father." It was a glorious, transfiguring thing to say. It flung the doors wide open, hailing Him who is "within no walls confined." The trouble is that multitudes

have forgotten the rest of the quotation, and have accepted the broader truth as occasion for release ment from the conventional practices of worship. What to substitute for the old urgency of times and seasons—how to lead his children to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth" without the compulsion of sacred hours and places—is our increasing problem. Truly does the hymnist sing that "Work shall be prayer if all be wrought intent on pleasing thee"—that is, in the spirit of prayer. What happens, however, is that any kind of work is called prayer—no matter for the spirit of it—and the hard-worked man ranks the piety of his hands as precious as the piety of his soul, and at the next remove only a prayerless task remains!

> The hand that rounded Peter's dome,
> And groined the aisles of Christian Rome,
> Wrought in a sad sincerity

—perhaps; and for a reason the poet did not intend. If the rounding of a dome and the groining of an aisle—or, for that matter, the skill of a physician or the training of a child—be the only prayer the worshiper puts up, his "sincerity" is indeed a "sad" one. His soul has no oratory; his picture no high lights; his music no valid pitch. Doubtless we need to be reminded to "remember the week day to keep it holy," and, with John Hay, that certain homely tasks are "better business" for men and angels than swinging censers or "leafing around the throne." The practical question remains to be asked, however, whether the new doctrine has helped or hurt more; whether the attempt to sanctify an entire week, an entire life, really sanctifies or secularizes the whole.

Again, consider the modern doctrine of the Bible. Doubtless the Bible is a greater book since we relinquished the automatic theory of its production. New light has indeed broken from the familiar pages as a result of new light poured upon them. In particular, the humanizing of the Book renders it more profoundly divine. It is the human note in the Psalms which, as Coleridge said, "finds us"; the sheer human interest which challenges ours; the human life of God which clutches and commands our own. The less Daniel's mystifying "weeks" mean, the more of a brother he is to us. Whether Isaiah was one or two—what matter, so long

as God gets at us through the prophet's word? The Revelator saw more that we are needing to see if we limit his vision to earth. The greater the number of hands conspiring to give us one Book, with one increasing message, one life, and one face, the greater the wonder. But what more? Why, this, that the Bible may be "a bigger book in the estimation of men" and still be a weaker force in their lives; may be increasingly read for literature, ideals, romance, and at the same time be decreasingly followed. Lockhart need not have asked "Which book?" when the dying Sir Walter asked for "The Book." Even to the skeptic and scoffing of that day the Bible had a certain uniqueness. By virtue of a certain aloofness and air of mystery it was truly "Book of books," to whose peculiar message an attentive ear might at length be vouchsafed. But with the reduction of so many biblical features to the lowest terms of the mechanics and psychology; with extension to Socrates and Shakespeare, to Buddha and Browning, of our conception of inspiration; nay, with God speaking not only in books but in flowers and sunsets and cataracts, in all history, so that none is longer profane, through all peoples instead of one "peculiar people"; by awakened consciences and growth of new ideals everywhere—who shall say that the Book of which Matthew Arnold said that "to it we shall return" has not suffered grievous practical hurt?

Then there is the modern idea of sin. Ours is a franker, truer, kinder word for the sinner; franker, in that we admit that we know absolutely nothing concerning the origin of evil; truer, because we have ceased trying to measure sins like cordwood; kinder, for the reason that we recognize the common root of all evil in ourselves. We no longer talk of "inherited guilt," for guilt is no more transferable than merit; nor of "total depravity," lest we slander God. Fancy telling a modern congregation that "God looks upon the soul as Ammon did upon Tamar. While it was a virgin he loved, but now it is deflowered he hates it." Pity Robert South did not carry out his analogy and see where it would land him, for Ammon *caused* the defilement he later *despised*. We know now that man has brought down from his brute ancestry a host of appetites whose indulgence for him may be sin. We eagerly

admit that what the Pharisee in us too promptly pronounces evil may, as Browning said, be "silence implying sound"; or may even be good in the making, beauty unripe, virtue adolescent. And having said so much, we realize that, somehow, our sword has turned its edge. Wrong people were better managed by a tyrannical theology than by the sweet reasonableness of our later explanations. Perhaps there were extenuating circumstances in David's case, but Nathan simply pointed his inexorable finger and cried, "Thou art the man." To-day we should have so many mitigating things to say that David might get off without learning in his soul that he was "the man." In brief, it looks as if by trying to relieve the situation for Adam we had reduced the embarrassment of our own; by lifting the emphasis from sin as a governmental affront to the universe we had removed it to a nebulous region in which its perfidious, self-destructive nature is only dimly seen; by talking so much about the sinner's need of sanitation, hygiene, and fresh air we had helped him forget his pathetic and uttermost need of a Saviour and a recreated will.

I should like to show the application to and the illustration of my theme in our modern doctrine of salvation, of the church, of immortality, but will take no more than a single further instance —our doctrine concerning Christ. Never before was Jesus so large in the world's eye as now. Such plays as the "Servant in the House" and "The Passing of the Third Floor Back," such novels as Irving Bacheller's latest, such fiery, vivid apologetics as Chesterton's—these are immensely significant. Christ has more admirers, more compliments than ever before. But what advantage that the age cry, "Lord, Lord," while it does not the things which he says? What avails that statesmen and labor leaders are prophesying in his name, and in his name casting out demons, unless they sometimes sink to their knees confessing, "My Lord and my God"? It is scarcely unfair to say that Jesus is more admired and less personally obeyed, more flattered and less followed, more talked *of* and less talked *to*, than in any previous age. Well enough to rhapsodize with Sidney Lanier,

> Jesus, good Paragon,
> Thou Crystal Christ,

but the world needs more than pattern; needs somewhat besides and beyond ethical beauty. It needs power, constraint, compulsion; needs not merely the sense of being *called* but the joy of being *found*. "Why didn't you answer?" asked a mother of her boy. "Because it was so nice to hear you call." Myriads are delighting in the sound of Jesus's voice across the centuries, but decline to leave their nets and follow him. Much is made of the workingman's tardy discovery that Jesus was also a mechanic. What is needed, however, is not an election of the Carpenter of Nazareth to membership in the labor unions, but the election of union men to partnership with Christ in a world's industrial redemption—which is a vastly different matter. Beautiful is that story of the modern Magdalen who, hearing retold the incident of Mary and the spikenard, sat tugging at her stubby, bleached hair, and softly crying, "My hair ain't long enough to wipe his feet." The question, however, is not how we shall treat his *feet*, but his *claims*. His mission was not to make us sorry for his sufferings, but ashamed of the sins which caused them. Far be it from our wish to deplore the world's late discovery how human Jesus is, but what if it miss the full meaning and majesty of his perfect humanness? Foster, in one of his most controverted volumes, draws a tender, luminous portrait of Jesus, as warmly winsome as Renan's, as chaste as Wernle's, and he truly says that the kingdom will come in when men become like that. But he does not hazard an opinion as to the probability of the transformation. Perhaps he realizes that goodness must do more than charm, it must compel; that the whole world may run after Christ, as boys after a band, yet without the slightest intention of enlisting under his banner. "Oh, yes," said Heine, standing before the Venus de Milo, "she is very beautiful, but she has no arms." Christ is still "the fairest among ten thousand, and altogether lovely," but somehow we have shortened his arms. To be loved is not enough for our vagrant, impulsive hearts. Only the everlasting love of the Eternal Christ will avail to hold us back from our sins and up from our despair. His arms must indeed be the arms of the Infinite. "A hand like this hand," cried David to the distempered Saul, "shall throw open the gates of new life to thee!" Yes, a

hand like this hand, yet unlike it; with a higher tenderness and a diviner, because unique, eternal strength.

What to do, then? Obviously, one of three things. We may, in the first place, admit, with the sadness of Clifford or the bitterness of Carlyle, that Christ's "part is played out"; that the world has outgrown the need of a gospel of repentance and faith; that the modern doctrines of the church are at once the property of the world and a confession that the church is itself an anomaly and a useless survival; or (?) we may take refuge with the Romanist in his peculiar pragmatism. We do the Romanist injustice when we call him afraid of the truth. He is not afraid of the truth; he simply knows he cannot use the larger truth for the cramped purposes of the hierarchy. He rejoices in the truth—behind the door of his study; but when he comes out to mediate between his people and his God he suppresses those phases of truth, those implications of eternal order, which seem likely to loosen his priestly hold or be abused by half-grown souls. We could do that; some are doing it already. They have not only put their hands forth to steady the ark, they have carried the ark home with them in order to keep it safe. But (3) there is one remaining attitude for the churchman to take. He may remember that it needs a bigger man to preach the gospel in its bigger terms. To make men *feel* as well as *worship* an immanent God; to hold them to *special* seasons and places *because* all seasons and places are holy; to make the Bible grip them as interpreting all other books and voices of God; to show the self-suicide of sin, a "living as if God were dead"; to declare Him who is "very man" in a sense in which no man before or since was *ever* man—and then insist not only that God is like Jesus but that Jesus is the Eternal Utterance and Arms of the Father—will be to prove ourselves "workmen that need not be ashamed" even with new tools.

Art. VII.—THE SEVENTH HERO: A SUGGESTION TO SOME NEW CARLYLE

The definition of the hero has not been a constant term. The name has continued; the conception has changed. Childhood has one ideal of it, ministering to which juvenile literature sweeps the heart of childhood with a wide and fateful influence, while age has yet another conception, differing from this of earlier years as blossoms differ from their fruits. So also the childhood of the race has had its ideal, and, regardless of the unworthiness of much of it, the literary form in which that ideal has been enshrined has not been surpassed by all the race's maturing art, as "Thanatopsis" was never matched by any poem Bryant's age produced. A little while ago the hero was Achilles, a hero crying for a female slave, and staying from the battle in which his countrymen were dying. Homer devotes a sheaf of imperishable verses to his tawdry tears. To-day Achilles, sulking in his modern Greece, would be court-martialed and shot by members of his own regiment. Then the poet of the past sang Ulysses, wandering for twenty years in conquests and discoveries, while Penelope remains at home, the enduring type of a pure woman's constancy, "a picture," writes Bishop Quayle, "sweet enough to hang on the palace walls of all these centuries." In this year of grace Ulysses would be written not on poets' pages but in police records, and his wandering would be called not heroism but vagrancy. Such, however, were the heroes then; and burning towns and enemies overcome by foul means where fair were more difficult, and ravaged women, and destruction, and loot—these were the heroisms in which such heroes played an appropriate part. As we have grown older we have seen how cheap and misnamed these particular ribald worthies were; but the types of which they have become the classic illustrations have stalked through history and literature for centuries. It is because, for all their bluster and sham and childishness, these old buccaneers, about whom the unbalanced gods were mightily concerned, had in them the stuff of which not only the race's childhood, but its maturity as well, constructs its ideal men:

they fought and they went, they gave hard blows and they took long steps; and the world will love forever the men who have the battle spirit and the courage to explore.

The ominous and sometimes dreadful heroes of the worst of our juvenile literature are boyhood's incarnation of these two ideals; and the definitions of the hero which maturity is constantly making and changing are the expressions, under changing environments of thought, of these same permanent ideals. Under the unmanly tears of Achilles and the unfaithful travel-lust of Ulysses these twin spirits of warfare and wandering respectively constrain them, and in spite of all their weakness the world continually admires and, somehow, grows to love them. This is written in the present tense, for humanity has not changed at heart. If one will read the lives of the men who came to Virginia in 1607 as they are portrayed in even the more generous narratives, such as Mrs. Pryor's The Birth of the Nation, he will discover, with two or three singular exceptions, a most thoroughgoing company of vagabonds, men who ought to have gotten out of decent society anywhere and who ought to have been gotten out at any cost; but over them they have a certain glamour of romance, and in them a certain something to admire and love, because, for all their unfaltering rascality, they crossed an unfamiliar sea and dared a new adventure. So Carlyle, remarking acutely that history is the shadow cast by great men, has gathered together his six heroes, setting them before us as the enduring types of all our human stress and hope. But while he has swept all ranks and ministries, from gods to men of letters, he shows us in each simply the man who battles and the man who goes; in other words, the man who does. Analyzing, then, to find behind their strokes and strides what makes them go, Carlyle discovers the marks and sets the tests by which to tell a hero. First, says he, "a deep, great, genuine sincerity," which needs no explanation. Then the hero "looks through the shows of things into *things*." This is vision. Again, though Carlyle does not use the word, one can feel him reaching for it, the hero grips whatever god he knows, and this is consecration. Added to these three marks and tests of the hero is another, obvious to all: the hero accomplishes results. He may not see them, and may dis-

believe that they really exist, but they do surely show themselves at last. The hero is empowered. Sincere, visioned, consecrated, empowered—to show us men dimensioned after this fashion Carlyle has rifled the ages. His great men are of many centuries and several lands: Odin among the northern snows and Mohammed from his deserts, and Luther and Cromwell and Dante and Shakespeare and Knox and Napoleon, Johnson and Rousseau. They are a goodly company, but this is worthy of remark: they are not contemporaries. It is because of this dislocation in the kinship of the heroes that these pages are written. Carlyle's lectures are past criticism in some respects, but they are incomplete. There are not six heroes only, but seven; and the seventh is the consummation of the six. The seventh hero is the hero as missionary.

There is a certain class of readers, happily growing fewer, to whom it may come with a sense of shock that the consideration of epic heroisms should run to the modern missionary. There has been much belittling of him in these late days, as there was much scoffing at him in his earlier endeavors. We have heard all manner of cruel and foolish charges laid against him. Now, however, the days have come when back of all such accusations loom the immensities he has wrought in world-wide and individual life. But the missionary picture as it is laid before us with increasing severity of conscience, in its practical, businesslike, even commercial elements, has omitted certain other features which may perhaps recall our neglected recognition and claim anew our allegiance and devotion. The pathos of the missionary has been overdone: the sentimentality has been overwrought. We have long since put by the weeping herald and have swung too far the other way, seeing in him a religious agent, delivering certain religious, educational, ethical returns upon the basis of the investment made. It is time he was tested again, and by the hero's tests, for it is evident if we are to come to a sane appreciation of the missionary as something higher than the commercial agent, something nobler than the tearful martyr who suffers more in anticipation than in reality, the tests to which he is to be put must be the tests of this eternal heroism which lives through all the centuries. The missionary is not heroic because of any romantic or tender sentiments which have

been woven around his exodus. Neither his isolation nor his loneliness nor the sadness of farewell when he embarks can make him a hero. Is he sincere, visioned, consecrated, empowered? We shall discover this where heroism is always discovered, in the strokes he strikes and the steps he takes; in other words, in the work he has attempted and has done. What first, then, of the missionary as divinity? What is the mark of divinity? Carlyle's Odin never had a glimpse of it, though the Odin of the Sagas gives some casual and superficial revelation of it. It is not force, nor any supernatural frenzy nor magnified emotions of well-intentioned men. The mark of divinity is love, even unto death. Its great word is sacrifice; its great activity is search; its great places are Gethsemanes; its great symbols are a cross and a sepulcher. Carlyle has said that the hero as divinity is a product of old ages not to be repeated in the new. A product of old ages, truly! But, having been once produced, it has its repeated incarnations. It is the missionary's highest attribute. He is a searcher for the lost, a sacrifice for the sinful, a savior of the world. One who had caught the missionary vision prayed in early youth that God would send him to the darkest place in all the dark old earth. Gilmour wanders lonely among the Mongols and Sykes, among the Matabele people, waiting through weary years for the first token of an awakened soul. J. G. Paton buries with his own hands his wife and baby on the shores of melancholy Tanna, and there, alone, works out the works of God. Henry Martyn lands in India and cries, "Now let me burn out for God!" and his cry is answered when the pitiless fever kills him on the march. Henry Drummond has told us how he found the Livingstonia mission station. He came into the house of the head missionary.

> It was spotlessly clean; English furniture was in the room, a medicine chest, familiar-looking dishes were in the cupboards, books lying about, but there was no missionary in it. I went to the next house—it was the school; the benches were there and the blackboard, but there were no scholars and no teachers. I passed to the next—it was the blacksmith shop; there were the tools and the anvil, but there was no blacksmith. And so on to the next and the next, all in perfect order, and all empty. Then a native approached and led me a few yards into the forest. And there, among the mimosa trees, under a huge granite mountain, were four or five graves. These were the missionaries.

One cannot read that story but he shall hear the Great Missionary and the Great Divinity saying: "I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep." Said a certain Indian Mohammedan: "I think Jesus Christ must have been a very wonderful man. He must have been something like Mr. Hewlett of Benares." Commerce, science, diplomacy have laid their hands upon the hands and lips and heads of heathen men; they have not changed a single heathen heart save for the worse. They discipline but they cannot disciple; they polish but they do not empower; they enrich but they do not redeem. The missionary, by the contagion of his character, saves his people, becoming to them the visible evidence of that infinite goodness which is the burden of his gospel.

Bringing divinity thus into the levels of the world to which he goes, the missionary becomes the hero as prophet. To interpret human affairs in terms of the divine; nay, to show that all affairs are divine affairs, all days holy days, all deeds sacred deeds, all life heavenly life; to show these things and to shape his measure of humanity into the expression of them—this is the prophet's practical task. He has no theory of development to prove, no experiment to make in evolutionary morals. He has a philosophy of the Eternal and demands a regeneration of life. The French governor of Madagascar told the first missionary there that he could never make the blacks Christians, for they were brutes. The author of one of the most inspiring little books written, the Missionary Interpretation of History, says: "The missionary waited a bit, and then published his answer. Hundreds of churches and thousands of lay preachers with their devout followers have long since . . . stilled the inhuman word." The East India Company sent a solemn memorial to Parliament declaring that "the sending of Christian missionaries into our Eastern possessions is the maddest, most extravagant, most expensive and most unwarrantable project that was ever proposed by a lunatic fanatic." Now a modern missionary author, commenting on the memorial, writes suggestively, "To-day the Company is a bad memory, while hundreds of churches dot the Ganges." This transformation has been wrought by the most practical means, for your missionary is

no "lunatic fanatic." Prophets are men of commonplaces. J. Kenneth Mackenzie, a young medical missionary, was summoned to the sick-room of the wife of Li Hung Chang. She was cured of whatever complaint it was which baffled the native physicians, and the statesman erected a hospital, put Dr. Mackenzie in charge, and there the first Chinese medical students were trained. The government soon followed with an organized system of medical instruction on a large scale. Sometimes the change is wrought by homelier methods, for the missionary is a humorist and can employ the comedies of life. Dr. Lindley, a missionary among the Zulus, has described the process. A man barters at the mission station some small article for a calico shirt, which he immediately puts on. He discovers that he cannot enjoy his shirt because his legs are bare. The next day he buys a pair of cheap duck pants. Now he cannot sit on the ground any more, or he will soil the white duck, and, accordingly, he is at the mission station bartering for a three-legged stool. And, says Dr. Lindley, "when that man gets that calico shirt and those duck pants on, and he sits on that stool nine inches high, he is about nine thousand miles above all the heathen around him." This is because, in that simple process, he has traveled the stages of the race. His shirt is the result of an awakened ambition. The trousers are the product of a new modesty. The stool is the evidence of a new economy. The total result is independence, self-respect, and dignity. The man is then ready for the fuller and appropriate transformation of the soul. Sometimes the prophet foretells. Among the atrocities of Old Calabar was the burial of a living child with its dead mother, while when a chief died there was wholesale burial of living men with him. To one of the first missionaries a stern old chief said: "Do you tell me that when I die my sons are going to put me in an empty grave alone, and nobody with me?" The missionary looked at the war canoes decorated with the heads of murdered men, and said, "Yes." The king's reply was short and unequivocal. Said he, "You are a fool." Then his sons came up, according to Dr. Pierson, who has recorded the incident, and asked, "What is the matter?" The king repeated what the missionary had said. Their answer was the answer of dutiful sons. Said they, "He is a fool and a foreigner.

What does he know?" But that chief lived until the custom of burying people alive was completely abolished. Fifty yards from his own house a Christian chapel was built and the preacher in it was one of those same sons.

Of the missionary as poet more can be suggested than said. If Matthew Arnold was right in defining poetry as a criticism of life, the missionary is poet laureate to the universe. One can hardly put on paper even hints of what the missionary has done in this realm without being accused of an attempt at fine writing. But it would be a wonderful bit of literature that would adequately delineate the transformations the missionary has wrought in human life, transformations which can be expressed only in poetry. On the one side you would have the picture of the weird and almost meaningless sounds of savage incantation changed to Christian hymns; on the other you would have the innumerable cries of heathen suffering—by torture, by normal cruelty of heathen life, by the hopelessness of heathen theology—changed to the joy and quiet hope and the music of Christian fortitude and trust. Your missionary sees in the jungle the grotesque contortions of the witches' frenzy—and the dance of death in King Solomon's Mines is no exaggeration—and weaves the passionate rhythm of it into the gentler forms of penitence and praise. He hears by day and night the shouts of savage warriors in their ghastly dances which presage crime and horror—as witness the experiences of the missionaries among the Ngoni—and tames their lips to sing the songs that Christian centuries have hallowed in the better warfares of the cross. In 1856 Mrs. Butler wrote that "India is the land of breaking hearts." We need not have recalled to us those old innumerable horrors—the sacrifice of children, the funeral pyres on which child widows died, the dancing girls in temples, creatures of squalid lust amid the holy places; these were the commonest features of Indian life when Mrs. Butler wrote. India is still the land of breaking hearts. The weeping is not wholly hushed, the little children are not altogether rescued, the womanhood is not wholly saved, but amid the weeping is the sound of Christian voices singing hymns. This is not to be affirmed of India alone. The world around, the missionary has brought a light and music into

life. From China's rice fields, out of coolie lips, above the brakes where busy islanders forget their former savagery in acts and trades of peace, above the kraals of kaffirs where the drums of war were wont so long to clamor, above the shuffle of the camels' feet upon the sands of the deserts, above the whisper of the winds among the cherries of Japan, above the world around, there rises, in many tongues and tones but with a single meaning, the poetry of hope. It is the achievement of the missionary, who, like Dante, has seen hell, and, like Shakespeare, has beheld a world of men, but who, like no one but himself, has looked as well upon the face of God.

Of the missionary as priest much might be written if it were necessary; but here is the missionary as we have always thought of him, though our thought has seldom if ever done him justice. He has here his definite yet an illimitable task. He must open the gates of the mysteries to minds at first unfitted for them, and then irreverent and most likely to be indifferent. Where all things speak of God and no ears are open to hear the message, he must bring home the voice of sea and mountain, rock and field and flower, till each shall testify indubitably of the Infinite behind. So Mackay of Formosa led his Chinese boy up the Quan-yin mountain, and from the summit, looking on shore and sea, sang with him the one hundredth psalm till to the Chinese boy it was a new apocalypse. More imperative is the missionary's obligation to take this world not only into the higher realms of loveliness and culture but into the heart of personal spiritual experience. We have drifted into the comfortable feeling that raw heathenism is over and that we have left only a mild and gentle form of ignorance. It takes a column in the newspapers every once in a while, telling us of cannibalism in some sea island, or child slaughter in the Philippines, to startle us back to the older conviction that the world is still sinful. The missionary sees this at first hand; to-day's news is ancient history to him. He is forced to watch the sacrifices of grains and foods, captives taken in war, sons and daughters laid on forest altars, and little children lisping up to cruel priests. And somehow, by the passion of a heart aflame, by the eloquence of a mind on fire, by some subtler empowerment he accepts as from a living Spirit, he becomes a universal John, cry-

ing recurrently, "Behold the Lamb of God." There can be few more inspiring visions obedient to the summons of the will than that of the sight which only the eye of God can compass, when one majestic company, girdling the globe, bows low; the sight where, speaking a hundred tongues and clothed in a hundred colors, among the hills of continents and on the shores of islands, in barren deserts and splendid cities, in the shades of inland forests and in the noblest colleges of cultured men, separated by many oceans yet an undivided company of spirit, the hosts of God bow low at a common holy table and the missionary as priest fulfills his highest function, the presentation to the church militant of the broken body and shed blood of its triumphant Lord.

The missionary as man of letters is the most fascinating of the heroes. To see his work is to be impressed with the gigantic. He thinks in continents; he writes in worlds. One of the authors of the Ely volume on Missions and Science states the problem before him thus:

> That there was need of their [the missionaries] laying the foundation of a national literature among peoples that had not even an alphabet is plain; but the literature of most of the heathen nations that already had one of their own was so full of falsehood in science, superstition in religion and gross immorality and filthiness, that it only created a necessity for a new literature free from these fatal defects.

To create a literature from alphabet to epic, this is the task of the missionary as man of letters; and well has he done his work. Accurately developed languages are the keys to civilization and scientific advance; their value cannot be overestimated. The statement is not too broad which Professor Mackenzie has made, that "no one body of men has done so much to make the widest and most thorough study of languages possible as the missionaries of the nineteenth century." This is some distance from the widely current conception, not yet among the antiquities, that the missionary is a pious old gentleman, with a high hat and a King James Bible, preaching the doctrine of hell to a handful of naked savages, who think his Prince Albert coat is his natural skin. That is the picture formerly stereotyped as the frontispiece of missionary biography and continued now in comic journals, the most comical

feature of which is their lack of humor. The real picture is of Robert Morrison working sixteen years to gather a library of ten thousand Chinese books, and at last printing a dictionary of fifty thousand Chinese words, and so unlocking the literature of the silent empire to Western study. In 1800 there were fewer than fifty translations of the Bible; in 1900 there were four hundred translations, and nine tenths of the people of the world had the Bible printed in their own language. What this means may be illustrated by the romance of the Greenland missionaries. The natives of Greenland were ignorant of their own language, having no writing and no alphabet. The missionaries reduced the spoken words to writing, developed the grammar, translated the Bible and some other literature, and then taught the natives to read their own language. The work of the Reverend Dr. Hiram Bingham in reducing to writing the speech of the Gilbert Islanders, translating the Bible into it and supervising the printing of it, during which he died, is a romance beside which the deeds of a world of old-time heroes is as the play of little children. "When I think of what he has done during these fifty years in the Gilbert Islands," said Professor Edward C. Moore, of Harvard, "anything that the rest of us do appears too small to mention. I seem struck dumb in his presence." The missionary as man of letters has gone further. Beginning with an alphabet he ends in a university. The Christian college system of India, the Christian and scientific literature in Arabic—these are his work. In 1829 there was not a school for girls and not a woman who could read in all the Turkish empire. Forty years after the missionary schools had been there the Turkish government promulgated school laws and a general scheme of education, and now hardly a town is without its school for girls. Mr. Arthur H. Smith, in China and America To-day, has written:

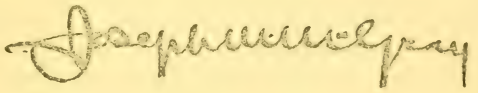
> The real principles upon which the new Turkey must be built will be those—and those only—which by American missionaries have been taught in the cities and the obscure mountain villages of European and Asiatic Turkey, and have been burned into the intellectual and moral and the spiritual consciousness of the students of many races in polyglot Robert College, Constantinople. There is indeed to be a new Turkey, when all this weary seed-sowing will be perceived not to have been in vain.

So, not only through his functions as man of letters, but by all the efficiencies with which he is dowered, by all the heroisms he incarnates, the missionary grows before the world, ultimately as its king.

The missionary as king will have no contradiction in his claim in our own lands. Whether or not the Constitution follows the flag, the flag follows the missionary. What influences, perhaps unrecognized at first, did the missionary exert among the Indian tribes, what disciplines did priest and chaplain work among the troops of conquest to stay and soften their otherwise undisciplined advance! What patience, hope, cheer, were carried to lonely pioneers by unremembered circuit riders, encouraging them to battle yet a little longer against the wilderness! The settlement of Oregon will not be soon forgotten, nor the presence of those Flathead Indians whose appeal for help was answered by the presence of the Lees in the Willamette Valley, nor even the unavailing ride of Dr. Whitman across a continent of snow to save that splendid territory to our American estate. Beyond our own possessions and history the story is as true. Shortly after the most cruel of the famines in China in the seventies the British consul at Tientsin, Forrest, testified that more had been done toward the opening of China by the unselfish charity of the missionaries during that famine than by a dozen wars. The martyr history in which is recorded the Christian conquest of Uganda from the time of Stanley's challenge to Christendom is the dramatic picture of the King coming surely to his throne, and he is enthroned there forever. In still as direct yet more political connection, the missionary is involved in the advance of European nations in their colonial tasks. Germany's sphere of influence in Africa has been much in public notice, but, as Mr. Speer has written, the first raising of Germany's flag over African soil was above the heads of Rhenish missionaries in Namaqualand. It is part of the world's history that only the missionaries saved Uganda and Nyassaland to the British crown; while the revolution wrought in Madagascar, not only in personal and social morals but even in national theory and the practice of civilization, matches the marvels of the New Testament. Probably no more thoroughgoing special pleading has ever been written by an

author competent to do otherwise than Professor Ladd's In Korea With Marquis Ito, supported as he is by Dr. Noble, the foremost Methodist Episcopal missionary there. But Dr. Noble's position in official Korea is more significant than his words, and attests, despite his own criticism of the missionaries, that yonder, while viceroys exercise authority and the missionary is numbered by unfriendly critics among the causes of the untempered restlessness, the missionary himself, undefeated, is toiling at the structure of the state, and back of kings' councils he will yet be determining the fashion of principalities and powers.

Here ends the present paper. To glimpse even in a fragment that which many volumes would but inadequately record is to see that here is a hero who has the battle spirit and the courage to explore, who gives hard blows and takes long steps; in short, who does. To see what he has accomplished is to recognize his sincerity, vision, consecration, and empowerment. To realize his task is to confess dependence upon his fidelity. To discount him is to reject the history of the world.



Art VIII.—RACE CONFLICT

Frederic Harrison, the English philosopher, is quoted as saying that the one great shadow which clouds the future of the American republic is the approaching tragedy of the irreconcilable conflict between the Negro and the white man in the development of our society. A similar statement is credited to Mr. James Bryce. In Zion's Herald of last June Dr. H. K. Carroll pictures the situation as revealed in many visits to the South. In some respects he finds the change for the better in the attitude of the white man toward the Negro little short of revolutionary. But in politics, in society, or in any business matter where the Negro asserts his rights against a white man, "the discrimination against the black man is general" throughout the whole South. Yet "statesmen like President Taft have come to see that nothing can be done in the way of legislation." To an unexpert mind it might seem that legislation, in the shape of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, was waiting on the executive. But the country recognizes that the "powers that be" have consented to consider these Amendments temporarily "out of commission." In such case, as Dr. Carroll says, nothing can be done by the federal government to secure to him (the Negro) rights denied him. "It would appear that the Negro must labor and wait, wait and labor, while prejudice slowly dies in the dominant race and makes juster treatment possible." "The remedy must come through the education of the conscience of the South on the subject."

But is this prejudice dying out? Mr. William Archer, the English dramatic critic, in a very thoughtful article in McClure's Magazine for July, 1909, says that notwithstanding remarkable progress in education and in material good on the part of both races, "the feeling between the races is worse rather than better." Professor John Spencer Bassett, of Trinity College, North Carolina, a Southerner, says: "We are just now entering the stage of conflict, and this is because the Negro is beginning to be strong enough to make opposition. . . . *As long as one race contends for the absolute inferiority of the other, the struggle will go on*

with increasing intensity." The same idea is maintained by Thomas Dixon, Jr., perhaps the most notorious exponent of the extreme Southern view. He disapproves of the work of Mr. Booker T. Washington, because it "can only intensify the difficulties" of the race problem. He says this is due to "a few big fundamental facts." These, in brief, are as follows:

No amount of education can make a Negro a white man.

Amalgamation the greatest calamity that could possibly befall this republic.

"The one thing a Southern white man cannot endure is an educated Negro." (See his article in the Saturday Evening Post, August 19, 1905.)

As to amalgamation, Professor William Benjamin Smith, of Tulane University, New Orleans, an able Southern apologist, argues that it would be "treason on the part of the Caucasian races to their birthright and their destiny" to tolerate the social equality of the black race, because social equality would surely lead to intermixture. Mr. Archer also sees in the sex question the crux of the problem. He insists that for the two races to live together in mutual tolerance and forbearance, but without mingling, is a sheer impossibility. He sees but two possibilities—marriage between the races might be legalized and the color line obliterated, or, the Negro race might be geographically segregated. The former would be intolerable; the latter is, he thinks, practicable. What the future relations of the two races are to be no one now knows. Some things about the present, however, are reasonably plain. It is not the formal or legal declaration of social equality that leads to miscegenation. Witness the third or more of our ten million Negroes having admixture of white blood. (See article by Mr. Ray Stannard Baker in the April American Magazine, 1908, p. 582.) Again, the idea of segregation or deportation is wholly visionary. We cannot deport the Negroes to Africa or anywhere else. No more can we stay their advance in education and civilization. It remains to consider how to remove some hindrances in the way of their progress.

One thing needed is a clear view of the real nature of the race problem. Mr. Quincy Ewing gives such a view in the Atlantic Monthly for March, 1909. He shows conclusively that the Negro

is *not* a problem because of his laziness, or ignorance, or brutality, or criminality, or all-round intellectual and moral inferiority to the white man. What, then, is the heart of the race problem?

> The foundation of it, true or false, is the white man's conviction that the Negro as a race and as an individual is his inferior, not human in the sense that he is human, not entitled to the exercise of human rights in the sense that he is entitled to them. The problem itself, the essence of it, the heart of it is the white man's determination to make good this conviction, coupled with constant anxiety lest by some means he should fail to make it good. . . . The race problem is the problem how to keep the Negro in focus with the traditional standpoint.

Mr. Ewing covers here in substance the whole case against the Negro as presented by Mr. Dixon, whose assumption of an impassable gulf of progress separating the races is mere rhetorical flourish. Why go back four thousand years to learn whether the Negro contributes to human progress? In the Christian Work and Evangelist for January 8, 15, 22, there is an article by Mr. Andrew Carnegie on "The Negro in America," of which the editors have this to say: "It is a masterly presentation of the subject, and *proves its contention conclusively, that no other race has ever made so great progress in fifty years as has the Negro race.*" But Mr. Dixon really disbelieves his own appeal to history, as he elsewhere allows the Negro's capacity for advancement. He even pleads that the Negro "should have—what he never has had in America—the opportunity for the highest, noblest, and freest development of his full, rounded manhood." *Not* in the *white man's country*, however, but in Africa! Mr. Dixon's conduct of his case, though brilliant, in a way, is vitiated throughout by his assumptions. His deep-seated prejudice forbids the appreciation of the educated Christian Negro for what he is. He will have him judged by the savage of centuries past. Here are his words:

> Education is a good thing, but it never did and never will alter the essential character of any man or race of men . . . Behold the man whom the rags of slavery once concealed—nine millions strong! This creature, with a racial record of four thousand years of incapacity, half child, half animal, the sport of impulse, whim, and conceit, "pleased with a rattle, tickled with a straw," a being who, left to his will, roams at night and sleeps in the day, whose native tongue has framed no word of love, whose passions once aroused are as the tiger's . . . *when he is edu-*

cated, and ceases to fill his useful sphere as servant and peasant, what are you going to do with him?

Four millions of such creatures in the South before the war, yet Mr. Dixon presumes to say the Civil War *created* the Negro problem! Rather, let us say, the war *uncovered* the problem! The mightiest of evils growing steadily under slavery, yet all unsuspected until, the fabric of slavery torn away, to the generation later the harm wrought on both races begins to appear.

The fact is, the South is suffering from two race problems, and not one only. The first we may call the real Negro problem. A white man's burden indeed it is so to administer for her diverse peoples as to do no injustice to white or black, while helping one race out of the degradation of centuries. And were it not for the other problem which divides the people, what joy to men and angels to see this American nation setting heart and brain to a task worthy her splendid powers—"such a task as never confronted man in all his recorded history." The other problem we will have to call the white-race problem. Such "problem arises only when the people of one race are minded to adopt and act upon some policy more or less oppressive or repressive in dealing with the people of another race." This has for its objective solely the interests of the white race, for whose sake the interests of the Negro must be sacrificed. This traditional problem concerns itself with holding the Negro down, while the real problem has to do with the perplexities of saving the Negro from his past and lifting him up. While a multitude of recent writers agree in portraying as above the prevailing Southern sentiment, only one, Ray Stannard Baker, in The American Magazine, August, 1908, does justice to the new South on Negro education. He sees in the "Ogden Movement" and the "Southern Educational Association" evidences of a distinct change of view coming to power among Southern leaders. These people declare their belief that, "whatever the ultimate solution of this grievous problem may be, education must be an important factor in that solution." On the other hand, there is a growing sympathy in the North with the Southern white man's burden. President Taft and his three predecessors in office have shown such sympathy. Northern sentiment is so far with the

South as to forbid any clash, though State legislation overrides the Constitution. Governor Vardaman, of Mississippi, 1904, glories in the fact that his State nullifies the Fifteenth Amendment:

> And instead of going to the Congress of the United States and saying there is no distinction made in Mississippi because of color or previous condition of servitude, tell the truth and say this: "We tried for many years to live in Mississippi, and share sovereignty and dominion with the Negro, and we saw our institutions crumbling. . . . We rose in the majesty and highest type of Anglo-Saxon manhood, and took the reins of government out of the hands of the carpetbagger and the Negro, and, so help us God, from now on we will never share any sovereignty or dominion with him again."

Perhaps our acquiescence with present-day Southern "opportunism" may be due more to genuine sympathy with the underlying assumptions than we like to acknowledge. What means the complacent reference, in speeches, editorials, even in sermons and the utterances of church boards, to the "dominant races"? Why the constant, subtle assumption of essential race superiority—the assurance that the final working out of human history is committed to his hands? A Memorial Day sermon in a Boston paper quotes concerning the battle of Manila Bay: "It was the most important historical event since Charles Martel turned back the Moslems, A. D. 732, because the great question of the twentieth century is whether the Anglo-Saxon or the Slav is to impress its civilization on the world." The Anglo-Saxon, grown proud from long continued possession of certain favors of heaven, regards himself as the most notable illustration of the "survival of the fittest." There is, in his opinion, only one race capable of world leadership. "The Anglo-Saxon is the dominant race of the world and is to be." It can do no harm, however, to note certain signs of the times which seem to read us a more wholesome lesson. Under the caption, "The Coming of the Slav," The Literary Digest says:

> The tremendous potency and still more tremendous possibilities of the Slavonian element in European nationalities have been recently brought to the world's notice by the revolt of Ferdinand of Bulgaria and the mutterings of Servia and of Montenegro, behind all three of which stands the vast empire of Russia. "The Slavs are beginning to feel their strength and to assert themselves," declares Mr. W. T. Stead in the Contemporary Review (London). In his opinion the Slavic race is really one of the most for-

midable factors in European politics. He tells us: "Of all the great races of Europe the Slavs have received the fewest favors from the fates. Providence has been to them a cruel stepmother. They have been cradled in adversity and reared in the midst of misfortunes, which might well have broken their spirit. From century to century they have been the prey of conquerors, European and Asiatic. But all this is changing, and for the Slav the light is rising in the darkness." Mr. Stead prophesies that, after passing through the stern ordeal of affliction, they will assert themselves, will lay aside their tendency to anarchy, "and the future is theirs." He prophesies a vast stretch of free self-governing States from Petersburg to Prague, and from Prague to Adrianople, . . . in which the Slavs, by the sheer force of numbers, will of necessity be in the ascendant.

There is but one voice to-day from those competent to speak of the Chinese. They are an intellectual race, capable of unlimited development, both mental and spiritual. A Congregationalist Year Book calls the Chinaman "the Anglo-Saxon of the East." The Boxer Rebellion revealed the utter devotion to Christ of which they are capable. What heights of ethical character they may later reveal no one can now say. A type of Christianity seems likely to arise among them not only better suited to their needs than any Western type, but also competent to throw new light on the higher ethical problems of mankind. "Christian unity stands a better chance of adequate expression in China than in America," declared a missionary at Northfield last summer. It is not unbelievable that in the present century China may furnish the world some of its greatest religious teachers.

Again consider how God is sending world problems to our shores, trying if we be worthy of our centuries of light and privilege. Where, if not in Christian America, ought the world-old struggle between capitalists and wage-workers to find an end? "More than one ethnologist fears that the darker races are getting together and preparing for a death-grapple with those who have too long oppressed them." But God is sending this race problem to us. And it is ours to show how Christ's teaching solves it. Our Christian zeal and wisdom are called for, not less at The Hague, but more at the centers of conflict in New York and Chicago, in Philadelphia and Saint Louis, in Pittsburg and Boston, in Wall Street and the halls of Congress. Then the problem of crime and pauperism, on the one hand, and the corruption of the rich and

powerful on the other hand, are pressing for solution. The Socialist says, "If the work people were as willing to do illegal and violent things to get wealth as the rich people do, this would be a fearful world to live in." Josiah Strong says, "Evidently, unless we Americanize the foreigners in our cities, immigration will foreignize our civilization." Of necessity we are Americanizing them, and are in turn being foreignized. But are we certain that the American factor makes for the elevation of society? The great question is not whether the Anglo-Saxon *or* the Slav is to impress his civilization on the world, for no such one-sided work is possible. The great question is whether the Anglo-Saxon and Slav and all races shall coöperate in a brotherhood of man to establish justice in the earth and to promote the general welfare of mankind. President Charles Cuthbert Hall says:

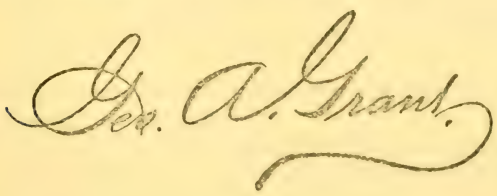
> It is a tremendous thought that with the growth of the democratic spirit in the twentieth century, which is the growth of the right valuation of personality—individual personality and national personality—there may be at hand a rediscovery of the mission of Christianity to the world which would mean a return to the cosmopolitanism of Jesus Christ. (Address before the Religious Education Association, 1905.)

Such a program will call a halt to many a scheme dear to the heart of the Anglo-Saxon. The Boston Herald says:

> Perhaps the chief characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race is its aggressive, domineering character. Wherever it has gone it has made its mark by its forceful and often brutal energy. When brought in contact—and this has been frequently the case—with a people whom they have looked upon as less developed than themselves, the Anglo-Saxons have invariably overridden whatever political rights the latter might have possessed, and in practically all cases they have justified themselves on the ground that they were doing this for the benefit of those whose wishes and customs they have rudely set aside. A large number of illuminating illustrations of this could be given from the history of England and the history of the Anglo-Saxon in America.

As to our own work abroad there is difference of opinion; many competent judges give us an unenviable reputation. But on many features of our home civilization there is substantial agreement. To which of our great cities can the citizen point with pride and say, "This is what America stands for in civilization! Behold the highest reach of the wealth and culture and citizenship of the

Anglo-Saxon"? Only the other day Governor Glenn, of North Carolina, said, "The great cities of the land are snapping their fingers in the face of the Almighty." What the Anglo-Saxon needs is not a further inflation of his pride and vainglory, but—in the light of his history—he needs an infusion of true humility. Race pride, conceit, arrogance, presumption, are not the badges of man's worth and true dignity; they constitute, rather, a good part of the problem of the world. This is the heart of the race problem in our Southland. This is the cause of that intolerable burden, the "armed camp" called Europe. This it is which is now blocking the way of that next great step in the civilization of humanity, namely, the federation of the nations in a brotherhood of man. Patriotism too often signifies only that despicable sentiment, "My country, right or wrong." How much greater the thought of Christopher Gadsden in the first Continental Congress, as he exclaimed, "Let none of us be any longer in the first place a New England man, a New Yorker, a Virginian, but all of us Americans." It is something to know that the interests of the nation are above those of the State. Likewise, the finest spirits of the age recognize that world interests outrank those of State and nation. In Zion's Herald of August 4 appears the sentiment, "the banner of the cross being the only one that should ever float in our seas above the Stars and Stripes." Only let the nations who say this really mean it, and we have one and the same flag above those of the nations; race interests become subservient to human interests, and the most enlightened politics prevail. No longer will nation jealously strive against nation—Germany against France, Europe against China, America against Europe, and each against all—but we become citizens of one great kingdom and Christ is Lord over all.



Art. IX.—HOW I FOUND STANLEY

The recent reading of the Life of Henry M. Stanley brought to mind a shining experience in London in the middle of the summer of 1890, when a happy chance enabled me to hear the famous explorer tell of his meeting Alexander Mackay, the Scotch missionary, of his own faith in God, and his confidence that Jesus Christ would win out in Africa. It was a bright hour in my life, and it happened on this wise.

I was sitting at a small table in a modest restaurant near Ludgate Circus after a visit to Saint Paul's Church. The hour was near one o'clock. An unusual quiet seemed to have settled down upon the otherwise roaring street. While waiting for my order a clergyman took a seat at the same table. He was evidently dressed with more than ordinary care, as if to be prepared for a special reception. Like a thoroughgoing Englishman, he sat silent, and there would have been no conversation had I not begun with a question, which was offered in the nature of a bait, about an old building hard by on which I had noticed a Latin verse, and I asked him why it was so peculiarly appropriate. He bit, and to my surprise, and delight as well, entered into a rather animated conversation. He filled my ideal of an Oxford scholar—possibly stroke-oar—athletic, clean-limbed, high-minded, and affable when once he had yielded his confidence. It was not difficult to imagine him on the Isis, like "Jim Hannington" of Brasenose, "rowing his heart out" rather than be beaten by a rival college. The next ten minutes were a time of refined pleasure. Just before he rose to leave he said in a brightly eager way, "I am about to attend a reception to be given to Mr. Stanley in the rooms of the Church Missionary Society. I wish you might be with me there."

I assured him that no pleasure could be finer, then asked him what the explorer was to speak about.

"O, he is to tell us of his observations upon the work of Mr. Mackay in the Uganda Country, with whom he stopped, you know, for three weeks as he went down toward Zanzibar."

"Is the meeting open to the public?" I asked him with eagerness.

"No, I am sorry to say that everyone must have a card of invitation," was his discouraging reply. "The place is near here; just through yonder archway across the street," and with that he bade me good day.

The one real grief after twenty years is that I did not get the name of my friend of a bright quarter of an hour, that later on I might have had opportunity to thank him for what followed.

Shortly after he left me I strolled out and went across the street and through the archway, and found myself in a paved court, or square, opposite to me being a hotel, and to my right a long sign stretching across a half dozen windows: "Church Missionary Society." Yes, there it was, the headquarters of the missionary life of the Church of England, and doubtless somewhere up in those rooms inspiring memories of the great file-leaders of foreign evangelism—Selwyn, Pattison, Hannington, and, above all, David Livingstone. Was it to be that I, who had been brought up on Livingstone, from the day he left Blantyre to the day he was laid reverently in the main aisle of Westminster Abbey, could not even have a peep into the quarters where Stanley was to tell of Livingstone's successor? If so, there was nothing to do but to submit to the inevitable. Just then I saw two fine old English "thoroughbreds," doubtless from the Isis or the Cam, hurrying down from the steps of the hotel and making for the door of the Society headquarters. A lone clerk stood at the desk as I walked into the office of the hotel. In answer to my rather aimless question, "Where is Mr. Stanley to speak to-day?" he spoke quickly: "Just follow those gentlemen yonder; they are on their way up to the room." Now there was hope, a trifle, and I determined to go as far as this would take me. With no small haste I made after the two "thoroughbreds" and walked modestly behind them as they mounted to the second floor of the building. In the long hall they were met by a rotund card-taker, who bowed as they handed him their tickets of admission. Then, looking up, he gave me a stiff glance with the words, "Card, sir!" I saw only retreat in his eye. Above me on the landing and leaning

over the railing were clerks, and they were dropping down the tantalizing words, "He's begun his speech!" Retreat? Not unless there was no way forward. Yet my salt-and-pepper suit was not commending me to the man holding out his hand for a ticket. That was evident. It would not be out of the way to state my case, so I said: "I know I have no right to be here to-day, but as I am an American, and claim Mr. Stanley as a fellow citizen, it will be enough if I can merely look through the open door and see him for a bit. I was told to follow the two gentlemen who have just entered."

"Well, now, this is quite unfortunate. We admit only by card to-day, you know," said he. "Perhaps—if you had a card, you know—simply for identification."

Now for it, for good fortune was pushing me on, as the day before I had visited our American ambassador, Mr. Robert Lincoln, and had been presented with several of the engraved embassy cards—"They may be of some use to you," was said. Out came my fountain pen, and while my friend taking cards watched me with considerable interest I wrote my name above that of our distinguished ambassador. The result as I handed it to him was tremendous and immediate: "Eminently satisfactory, sir. Just walk this way," and approaching a dozen men, filling up the door of the room in which Mr. Stanley was addressing a crowd of leaders of the mission work of the Church of England, my friend said with some emphasis, "Gentlemen, please stand aside and let this gentleman in!" And now here am I, who ten minutes ago was sitting at a restaurant table across the street, in the midst of bishops, canons, and other master spirits of the English Church, and there, not forty feet in front of me, is Stanley, his face tanned by the hot sun of the equator, his hair prematurely white, his large eyes full of an intense light, just back from Africa four days, telling of his descent into the equatorial plains after skirting Mount Ruwenzori. In the Ankoli region he first found evidences of the work of the wonderful Scotchman whom he styled "the greatest missionary I ever met, next to Mr. Livingstone." As they drew near to the western side of the great lake named for Queen Victoria they suffered annoyance from the petty thieving

of some unknown hangers-on upon the line of march. Several evenings they had heard the sound of singing near by, and what seemed to be prayers.

After we reached the plateau the Waganda came in. They were a nice, cleanly dressed, sober, and independent people. They had been on our path, and had found on the road one of our haversacks filled with ammunition, powder, and percussion caps. They brought it up to me, and said who they were. They were Samuel and Zachariah, of the Protestant Mission of Uganda. And they laid the bag at my feet, and when I examined it I found it contained ammunition—property which is very valuable there. Well, now I had it by my chair, and while I was in conversation a Mussulman slipped his fingers there and snatched it away, and I never saw it more. That Mussulman belonged to my force, and I was so ashamed of it that I did not mention to the visitors what had become of it.

So he knew that these men from Uganda were not thieves. Mr. Stanley went on to tell of a visit of these two men after dark to his tent and of their recital of the growth of the mission. They made other visits in the days following.

It was most graphic, most beautiful. . . . Now I noticed that as soon as they left my presence they went to their own little huts and took out little books which they had in their pockets in their skirts. And one day I called Samuel to me and asked: "What book is that that you have? I did not know that the Waganda read books." And that was the first time that I knew that they had the gospel in Luganda.

By the way, U-ganda is the country, Wa-ganda is the people, and Lu-ganda is the language.

Mr. Stanley said that nearly everyone in the party had a small pamphlet in Luganda—prayers, and the Gospel of Matthew. During one of their conferences one of them asked him with a deprecating smile, "Are all white men Christians?" That was more than Stanley could venture to say, though he "hoped" they were.

Then he put a point-blank question to me, "Are you a Christian?" Then I asked *him*, "Do you consider yourself a Christian?" "Of course I do," he replied, "*I am one of Mr. Mackay's men.* There are about two thousand five hundred of us."

Mr. Stanley said that he had not formed very good impressions of the Waganda in 1875, thinking them shifty and unreliable, but the better impressions he got in 1889 were soon confirmed by Mr.

Mackay. As I cannot take space to give in order all that the great explorer said about the marvelous expansion of the mission, I must be content to recall mere snatches of his wonderful tribute to the work of Mackay. He said he admired the people immensely.

> They are cleanly, they are most intelligent, and they are decent. . . . They are full of the traditions of their country, and just the material to become good, thorough, earnest, enthusiastic Christians. . . . I was much aroused by the story of the persecutions they had endured in the days after the death of the old king, Mtesa, when his maddened successor seized the converts and put them to death, or clubbed them, or sold them into slavery to the Arabs. Such fortitude, such bravery, such courage! It is unexampled in the whole history of Africa. The more I heard the story of Zachariah and Samuel, and others, the more I was carried back to the days of Nero and Caligula. I saw here just the same courage that the early martyrs of Rome exhibited. Really, there were instances of equal faith, of equal devotion, of equal heroism in the cause they had embraced. . . . Gentlemen, if all the churches in the whole Saxon world—your Saint Paul's, your Westminster Abbey, and all other churches—were leveled to the ground, and every trace of the Christian religion were blotted out in all the world save there in Uganda, yonder, where the faithful Scotch missionary has labored to lay deep the foundations of the Christian faith, I am convinced that there is enough intelligence, enough consecration of life, enough spiritual energy to start the whole glorious procession around the world again.

A question put to him by the Waganda converts referred to deeply moved the members of the Missionary Society, who listened with eager faces to the story of Mr. Stanley. Samuel and Zachariah asked, "Do you think our white friends will help us *if we only show them we are men?*" "I have not the slightest doubt," said he, "that if they believe in what I tell them, they will help you to the best of their ability." And they said, "We will pray to God." One incident so fully revealed the character of Mackay that it should be added before I bring this brief narrative to a close. After Mr. Stanley had finished his address some questions were put to him. One gentleman said: "Mr. Stanley, I notice that in your late book you have a picture of the Emin Pasha Expedition taken under a leafy shelter when you were resting at the foot of the lake. Why is not Mr. Mackay there?"

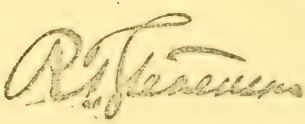
"I am glad you have asked me that question," replied the explorer, "for the fact will show you how modestly Mr. Mackay

bore himself. We were arranging ourselves for a picture one day, Emin Pasha, Dr. Bonney, Stairs, and Jephson, and a few others of the party, and I said to Mackay, 'Here, Mackay, come in here with us.' 'No, thank you, Mr. Stanley,' he said, 'I do not belong to the Emin Pasha Expedition, and I should not wish to have my picture where it did not belong.' So you do not see him with us—to my great regret."

Alexander Mackay died on the 8th of February, 1890, four months after the departure of the Europeans among whom he would not be pictured for fear of conveying an erroneous impression. Such was the might of a single-eye purpose that it lifted him from the promise of material success in Europe—the honor scholar in Edinburgh schools; it set him down in darkest Africa, for fourteen years to face all sorts of perils, finally to die of fever. But what a reward, and what a triumph! He rests now at the intersection of two roads, which run the one to the north and the other to the east at the southern end of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and the white marble cross over his grave bears his name and tells of his work in three languages—English, Arabic, and Suahili. A new name has been found for the old road which early explorers called "Hell's Highway," for is not its name forever more to be that of the Cross?

Since Mackay gave to the old King Mtesa "The Book" for which he asked so eagerly in 1876, a wonderful change has come over the whole Uganda Protectorate, not so much in things material as in things spiritual. The people, the most elevated and civilized of African natives, are doing marvelous things for progress. They have over twenty-eight thousand pupils in schools under the instruction of nearly five hundred teachers. They publish literature of a high character. They have erected nearly nineteen hundred Christian church buildings and a noble cathedral at their capital, Mengo, capable of holding four thousand worshipers. The native Protestant church is self-supporting, and is busy with its foreign missionary work among near-by pagan tribes. So the statement of Stanley on that day in 1890 is being verified. What a contrast between its record and that of the Congo State! Uganda is now capable of reënforcing the ranks of any

body of educators in equatorial Africa, and of bringing to God and to civilization the people lying in the thick darkness that rims around the remarkable people who to-day owe so much to Stanley and Mackay. The day after Stanley received news of the death of Livingstone he wrote in his diary: "May I be selected to succeed him in opening up Africa to the light of Christianity. . . . May Livingstone's God be with me, as he was with Livingstone in all his loneliness. May God direct me as he wills. I can only vow to be obedient, and not to slacken." From 1873 to 1890 he certainly had not slackened. And now, at the close of this most thrilling address to the heads and friends of the Church Missionary Society, the presiding official turned to some canon and asked him to lead in prayer. The room was crowded, and it was difficult to kneel down. Not even the chairman did more than bend his head in his hand. But Stanley, the greatest man in the room, turned around and got upon his knees and buried his head in the old hair-cloth sofa and prayed with a roomful of men much moved by what they had heard of the "grace of God" made known to far-off Africans through the fearless zeal and abundant intelligence of Mackay.



Art. X.—WHERE THE FATHERHOOD OF GOD FAILS

To gain anything like an adequate conception of God is exceedingly difficult. The most that the finite mind can do is to think of the Infinite in symbols or forms with which it is familiar. We abstract from our experience the best of which we have knowledge, ascribe that to God, and say God is all that—and more. The highest form of existence known to us is that of a person. Hence we say God is a Person, having all the noble powers possessed by any human person—and more. To make it clear that human limitations do not enter into our thought of God we might declare, with Paulsen, that God is suprapersonal, meaning by that to express our belief that the divine Being is immeasurably beyond any form of personality of which we are aware. It seems better, however, with Lotze, to think of all human beings as imperfect forms of personality, and to hold that God alone represents the perfect idea. So when we call God a King, a Judge, a Shepherd, or a Father, we do not think of him as a temporal king, weak or arbitrary, or as an earthly judge, shortsighted and liable to error, or as a human shepherd, fearful and helpless, or as a worldly father, cruel and hardhearted; but, rising above these limitations, we portray him as the perfect King, the infallible Judge, the almighty Shepherd, the faultless Father. These terms are ascribed to God frequently in the Scriptures. The endearing term, "Father," sanctioned by Jesus in the parable of the prodigal son, and given conspicuous position in the Lord's Prayer, is the one generally employed in theological, homiletical, and devotional literature. On the whole, it is well adapted to convey our conception of Deity. The Fatherhood of God, however, fails to adequately represent the divine Being in all the varied experiences of human thought and life. Hence, for anyone to rest in this conception as though it were full and final is a grave mistake. Most persons will readily admit as much, but at the same time they are quick with the query, Is it possible to think or say anything more constraining and comprehensive than this about God? What phrase can be suggested which will help us to any nobler idea of the Infinite than

the one taught by Jesus? In reply, all such questioners may be invited to look again at the family institution. Henry Drummond has well said: "Not for centuries, but for millenniums has the family survived. Time has not tarnished it; no later art has improved upon it; nor has genius discovered anything more lovely, nor religion anything more divine." Assuredly, if religion has produced nothing more divine, here within the family circle must be found another term, if there is any, which will give us a grander conception of Deity. Jesus himself has anticipated our quest in the use of those heart-moving words, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not!" The maternal, not the paternal, nature is here ascribed to the divine One. In this Jesus was in turn anticipated by the inspired writers of Old Testament times. In the book of Isaiah one may read as follows: "Can a woman forget her sucking child? . . . Yea, she may forget, yet will I not forget thee"; "As one whom his mother comforteth, so will I comfort you." The Psalmist also, in these assuring words, declares his faith in the motherliness of God: "For my father and my mother have forsaken me, but the Lord will take me up." And in the scriptural account of the creation Dr. M. S. Terry discovers a hint of the maternal instinct in the Infinite. The inspired record reads thus: "God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The suggestion is that the male, the father, does not fully express the image of God; the female, the mother, is needed to exhibit adequately the divine image. Why not, therefore, ascribe to the Almighty all the best qualities of mother as well as all the best qualities of father? Have we not suffered by such omission? These questions furnish a clue to what we believe is a neglected emphasis in Protestantism. The freedom-loving spirit of Protestantism accords an increasingly large place to woman in the social, industrial, professional, and political life of the world. She has taken her place beside man in almost every department of human activity. In this country the occupations in which she toils are said to number a thousand.

Nevertheless, those social reformers who would make her even as the man are greatly in error. Tennyson has truly said,

> Woman is not undevelopt man,
> But diverse; could we make her as the man,
> Sweet love were slain: whose dearest bond is this,
> Not like to like, but like in difference.

Then, assuming the form of prophecy, the poetic strain continues:

> Yet in the long years liker must they grow;
> The man be more of woman, she of man;
> He gain in sweetness and in moral height,
> Nor lose the wrestling thews that throw the world;
> She mental breadth, nor fail in childward care,
> Nor lose the childlike in the larger mind.

This likeness, then, will never amount to identity, since woman is physiologically, psychologically, and religiously different from man. So Tennyson adds,

> Defect in each, and always thought in thought,
> Purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow,
> The single pure and perfect animal,
> The two-celled heart, beating, with one full stroke,
> Life.

Just as it takes the two-celled heart to beat the full stroke of human life, so it takes the twofold conception of fatherhood and motherhood to make our idea of God sufficiently complete for practical religious needs. Drummond, in his discussion of "the evolution of a father" and "the evolution of a mother," makes it clear that the father's gift to the world is righteousness and the mother's gift love. With the thought of fatherhood we may satisfactorily conceive the righteousness of God, but we fail to properly comprehend the wonderful love of the divine being.

Roman Catholics escape this difficulty by turning the Trinity practically into a quaternity. Mary, the mother of Jesus, becomes a kind of a fourth person in the Godhead, and she personifies in ideal form all the pure, tender, and compassionate qualities of motherhood. A glance at church history may help us to understand this lamentable divergence from New Testament teaching. When Christianity conquered the Roman world, the danger was that pagan elements would enter into the worship of the church.

Should special occasion arise, it would not be difficult for people who had been accustomed to the worship of female deities to add a feminine form to the three Persons of the Trinity. This occasion was furnished by the doctrinal strife known as the Nestorian controversy. The bone of contention was the use of a word, Θεοτόκος, "Mother of God." Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, a representative of the Antiochan school which placed emphasis upon the human factor in Christ's life, objected to the term as likely to convey a wrong impression concerning the parentage of Deity. He held that not God, but the temple of God, was born of Mary, and his words when properly construed hardly warranted the charge of heresy against him, namely, that he believed Christ not merely to have two natures, the human and divine, but in reality to be two distinct persons. Yet Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, who unduly emphasized the divine nature of Christ, seized upon the objection to the term Θεοτόκος as an occasion to denounce Nestorius as a heretic, with the result that the Council of Ephesus, in A. D. 431, acting in haste before the arrival of the Eastern bishops, who were more friendly to the accused, anathematized Nestorius. The condemned bishop never regained standing in the church. Although the differences among the church authorities were adjusted by the acceptance later of the compromise proposal of Theodoret, in which the two distinct natures of Christ were asserted as over against the extreme view of Cyril, and the expression, "Mother of God," was vindicated as over against the objection of Nestorius. From that time, A. D. 431, the use of the term "Mother of God" was a sign and shibboleth of the orthodox belief. In art much was made of the Madonna and the Child, altars and churches were dedicated to Mary, and veneration passed into worship. In time paintings appeared with the *nimbus* given to Mary as well as to Christ and the angels; later the Virgin was represented as the queen of heaven, in the center of the apse, a position previously accorded only to Christ; and at last, in the twelfth century, she was enthroned with Christ as his equal (as the mosaic in the church of Saint Maria in Trastevère bears witness). In the thought of the church all the best qualities of motherhood were portrayed as characteristic of Mary, and all weaknesses

and shortcomings were left out of the picture. Legends were now accepted concerning the birth and death of Mary to which previously credence had not been given, and Mary thus became the immaculate one, the perfect queen of heaven, the mother of mercy, upon whom repentant sinners must call. To her popular belief ascribed "a sinless conception, a sinless birth, resurrection, and ascension to heaven, and a participation of all power in heaven and earth." Gabriel Biel, a Roman Catholic writer, said that "our heavenly Father gave half of his kingdom to the most blessed Virgin, queen of heaven. . . . So that our heavenly Father, who possessed justice and mercy, retained the former, and conceded to the Virgin Mary the exercise of the latter." To many, therefore, Mary became the one source and the only ground of hope. Discriminating Roman Catholics might distinguish between *hyperdulia,* the worship paid to Mary, and the *latria,* the worship paid to God, but with a multitude Mariolatry became idolatry, and they thought of Mary as "the ladder to paradise, the gate of heaven, the most true mediatrix between God and man." God might be the King of Justice, but Mary was the Queen of Mercy; God might be the Father of souls, but Mary is also their Mother. An accepted Roman Catholic interpreter furnishes the following: " 'Since the very tigers,' says our most loving Mother Mary, 'cannot forget their young, how can I forget to love you, my children?' "

Such is the outcome of separating justice and mercy, which are both attributes of the Eternal and Infinite Being. Discard Mariolatry you may and must; but in doing so do not fail to remember that all that is best in that magic word "mother" belongs to God. There is a maternal instinct in the Infinite, and the sweetest words in the language, "mother, home, and heaven," apply alike to Deity. God is heaven, and heaven is home, and he who dwells there will "mother" us all. This view not only presents an inspiring hope for the future, but it also has a value, apologetic, homiletic, and devotional, here and now. Ascribe to God mother's spirit of self-sacrifice and you make it doubly difficult for the unbeliever to say that he cannot accept as credible the story of sacrifice at Calvary. In Fitchett's Beliefs of Unbelief (p. 127) the reader discovers a forceful putting of the case: "Let us imagine

that in the palm of a mother's hand lay the infinite wealth of God; that to the tenderness of a human mother's heart were linked the wisdom and the omnipotence of God. What son would then doubt the possibility of there coming into his life a redemption as rich in grace, as dazzling in scale, as that depicted in the Gospels? . . . A mother's love linked to omnipotence would make everything possible." Again, the unfailing tenderness of mother helps us to understand the long-suffering love of God. She believes in her wayward son when the righteous indignation of father has barred the door against the erring child. That boy is her child, and she cannot give him up. Let the preacher preach from the text, "Can a mother forget her sucking child? . . . Yea, these may forget, yet will I not forget thee," and no sinning soul can fail to feel

> There is no place where earth's sorrows
> Are so felt as up in Heaven;
> There is no place where earth's failings
> Have such kindly judgment given.

Nor need this note of compassion in song or sermon tend to ease the conscience and so defeat moral ends. Doubtless, the worship of Mary has had that result in Roman Catholic lands. But is this not due, partly at least, to the fact that the wakefulness and watchfulness of mother is overlooked? Let the Protestant preacher develop the seed thought of such a text as Isa. 31. 5, where Jehovah is likened to a mother bird hovering over Jerusalem, and let it be shown that God, who neither slumbers nor sleeps, is ever expecting, ever watching, to see only the best, just as a human mother in the audience anticipates the best delivery of that graduating speech from her son upon the stage, and what hearer can feel that he may be at ease as long as he continues to disappoint God by wrong doing? "All the world's a stage," and all the persons who play upon it are under the continual surveillance of a love which is satisfied with nothing short of one's best. Observe, also, that the unique power of mother to comfort helps us to comprehend the comfort wherewith we are comforted of God. The little child when hurt turns instinctively to mother. Father's strong arm may furnish protection in time of danger, but to bind up a wound and to soothe the feelings the tender touch of mother's hand is needed.

So where the thought of the divine Father pitying us fails to reach our grief-stricken lives, the other thought, of God comforting with all the tenderness of a mother, may bring solace and satisfaction. With great beauty and fullness of detail has the editor of the Review presented this phase of the subject in his volume, The Ripening Experience of Life. Truly does he say: "If God wanted to lay hold on the most tender and potent thing in the world with which to convey to mankind an idea of infinite comforting, he found it in a mother's love; and we will miss the meaning of the tenderest promise in the Old Testament if we do not learn from it, by studying a mother's comforting, what thoughts of God are warranted in us by his own words."

Perhaps the question will now arise whether we are ready to change the introductory words of the Lord's Prayer and to propose a revision of the parable of the prodigal son. By no means. What is written is written and is worthy of acceptation by all. But equally great is the folly of neglecting other important things which are unalterably written. No one need emphasize the fatherhood less, but why not emphasize the motherhood more? Just as man and woman are joined together and become one flesh, so do these conceptions of fatherhood and motherhood unite in any adequate thought of the Divine Parent. What, therefore, God hath joined together in his Word and in his nature, let not man put asunder.

Foster C. Anderson

Art. XI.—THE PREACHER OF THE EVANGEL

No one can begin to estimate the power of the spoken word. Beside it the written message, as it appears in public press and current literature, is colorless and tame. In every age the prophet has made use of it to beat down impiety, to teach righteousness, to give freedom to the oppressed, and to lay the foundations of the kingdom of God. The first great moral force after martyrdom which aroused the old Roman world from its torpor and sensuality was the power of the Christian pulpit, and to its influence in succeeding generations history bears unanimous testimony. Just now, it may be, one does not hear the tones of the distinctively religious prophet pacing along the old Appian Way of eloquence and thrumming upon the deepest strings of the human heart. His brothers, the political prophet and the social enthusiast, have stolen much of his message, but many of these are in the true succession, for Christianity in its splendid vitality has burst through all ecclesiastical bounds, and if the church can only keep pace with the Spirit of Christ, there is no convincing evidence that the power of the Christian pulpit will ever be eclipsed. There are several reasons for the diminished emphasis which we moderns put upon the distinctly pulpit ministrations of the Protestant clergyman. At bottom it is due to the fact that we have shifted the basis of authority in religion. Protestantism transferred the emphasis from an infallible church to an infallible Book, and with a belief in verbal inspiration and scriptural inerrancy men could be silenced, comforted, enlightened, rebuked by a single phrase chosen almost at random from the rich and varied story of the Bible. We have come to see, however, that the Bible is a comprehensive body of literature extending over many centuries and marking many stages of progress, and that its authority is not based upon its literal accuracy, but upon the Spirit of God within its revelation which speaks to the Spirit of God within the heart of man. It strikes its roots deep into the reason and conscience of humanity. It stands on its own authority as the unique and unapproachable Word of God to man, for, beyond all controversy,

the Bible has a voice of compelling majesty, and its truth is verified in the universal experience of the race. As a result of this shifting of emphasis from the letter to the spirit it is quite a matter of course that the outward, visible authority of the preacher should be diminished. He is no longer the isolated and infallible teacher whose *ipse dixit* is to be obeyed. He is a man among men. The old-fashioned high pulpit, lifting itself grandly above the heads of the congregation, entered by a paneled door in the chancel and reached by the *scala sancta*, which the feet of the profane trembled to violate, and thus providing for the minister a splendid isolation, is no longer typical of our conception of his authority. It is the unanswerable truth of his evangel bathed in the passion and fire of his own godly life which gains for him a hearing, if he has one. Those who listen are of a sudden hushed into reverence and inclined to submission not by the *ipse dixit* of a fallible preacher, robed in gown and bands, but because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken through a true man and a true message. Hence the very just and wholesome obliteration of that false line of cleavage which distinguishes the minister in the pulpit from the minister in the market place, or the minister in the committee, or wherever else his activities may occupy him. It is not, then, because he is a minister in any official or ecclesiastical sense, but because he is a godly man, who has lived his way into the heart of Christ's Spirit and felt his way into the heart of Christ's love, and thought his way into the heart of Christ's evangel, that his pulpit becomes a place of authority and power. It follows that the minister in the pulpit must be above all things absolutely real and genuine without disguise or pretense. Many faults and failings may be forgiven, but one thing is unpardonable—a pulpit performance in which the minister seems to be chiefly impressed with the official dignity and formal functions of his office. Take, for instance, his manner in the pulpit. If it is stilted, lofty, and unnatural, encouraging in the minds of his people the false and antiquated idea that he is somehow a different sort of being from themselves; if his public prayer is a formal address to the throne of grace, without spontaneity or sympathy; if his voice assumes a pious tone, unnatural modulation; if his message is full of stilted

phrase and feigned sentiment, disguising the real man, then he is quite out of place in the modern ministry of the church; and his people, if they have any sense of humor, will desire nothing quite so much as to see his empty bubble of professional authority pricked and dissipated. From the amount of attention which Jesus gave to the condemnation of ecclesiastical hypocrisy it would seem crystal clear that the first requisite of the Christian ministry is genuine, undisguised, unprofessional manhood. The spirit of the prayer, the sermon, the exhortation must be nothing less than the manifested spirit of the man. Whatever of the divine life, humility, reverence, faith, love of truth, indignation against evil, compassion for men may be in the minister, the same will become the very atmosphere of his pulpit.

Next to sincerity let me name *humanity*. There is a fundamental identity of nature which binds together all races, all ages, all conditions. The language of this universal experience when once it breaks loose from the bonds of conventional phraseology, is a language that needs no lexicon. Priam begging the body of Hector; Achilles the Wrathful, Ulysses the much enduring, are no strangers to us. We meet them on the streets to-day. The grief that killed Eli kills men now.

> There is neither soon nor late
> In that chamber over the gate,
> Nor any long ago
> To that cry of human woe,
> "O, Absalom, my son."

"Three thousand years have passed since a slave mother would not let her little child be killed, and nearly four thousand since Jacob toiled seven years twice over and thought them but a day for the love he bore his Rachel." And these incidents are still common to the race. Never so keenly as now have we felt this sense of human solidarity in the essential unity of experience, binding together pauper and millionaire, child and sage, criminal and saint. The minister must be bathed in the blood of

> This great Humanity which beats
> Its life along our stormy streets.

No amount of intellectual and literary skill in the pulpit can make up for lack of sympathy with actual men and women who toil and

suffer, doubt and struggle. In The Preacher and His Models, Dr. Stalker has drawn no fanciful picture when he says:

> There is an unearthly style of preaching without the blood of life in it: the people with their burdens in the pews—the burden of home, the burden of business, the burden of the problems of the day—while in the pulpit the minister is elaborating some nice point which has taken his fancy in the course of his studies, but has no interest whatever for them. Only now and then a stray sentence may pull up their wandering attention. Perhaps he is saying, "Now some of you will reply"—and then follows an objection to what he has been stating which no one but a wooden man would ever think of making. But he proceeds to demolish it, while the hearer, knowing it to be no concern of his, retires into his own interior.

The pulpit which is merely a place for such academic and scholarly discussion has failed of its function, which is primarily a sympathetic relation of truth to life. "While the sermon must have heaven for its father, it must have earth for its mother," some one remarks. It is J. G. Holland who reminds us in Bitter Sweet that there are three classes of people in the world: the master minds, who dwell with their heads among the stars, and then a second company, whose function it is to receive the truth from master minds and to crumble it up to feed the third class—the great mass of hungry, weary, yearning men and women. To fulfill the office of this second company, even at the sacrifice of one's position in the aristocracy of scholarship, is to discharge the true obligation of the Christian pulpit. This humanity of the preacher will bring him into sympathetic touch with the awakened social conscience and the throbbing pulse of every movement of reconstruction and reform. He will free himself from George Eliot's charge of undue "other-worldliness," and will emphasize the interdependence of all life, the obligation of strength to weakness, the necessity of sacrifice and social service. It is not enough, however, for the man in the pulpit to have a true heart and a human interest. Another thing is absolutely essential. The minister must have a *message* which he can deliver with intellectual conviction and emotional intensity. No matter what his eloquence and charm, if he has nothing to say which is worth while, no message that meets the needs of the hearers, they will forsake him as soon as they find it out. He may part with certain faiths, he may hold others loosely, he may interpret others in his own way, and

still have a word of God to deliver. But this process of elimination and negation cannot go on indefinitely. There is a point beyond which the preacher's word ceases to be with authority.

The expansion of knowledge which has taken place within the last century has given birth to critical methods of study which have been applied to the history and literature of religion as well as to all other departments of knowledge and of life. The higher criticism, for instance, has made a careful historic and literary study of every book in the Bible to determine, if possible, its date, authorship, contents, and reliability. The results of this method of study have been most beneficent. It seems impossible for anyone any longer to question the legitimacy and ultimate desirability of such a careful examination of the sources of religious truth. It has shown us much that was false and trivial, unimportant and incidental, but it has also emphasized more clearly that which is essential and fundamental. Many of these conclusions are not yet established and some of them have been announced with such dogmatic certainty that one is led to question the reliability of the critic; but, on the whole, the results have been so generally accepted that there is no longer any need of apology or defense. It is time, however, to emphasize the danger which follows in the wake of a critical and negative mood. I have been reading the Journal of Professor Amiel, that quiet and meditative teacher in the University of Geneva, whose microscopic analysis of his own beliefs and moods and motives led to sterility of genius, a lack of enthusiasm for the normal interests of life, an inability to believe with any purpose or to act with any result, which made of his promising career a tragic failure. The pitiful thing about it is that he himself was conscious of his abuse of the critical faculty. Hear this out of his own bitter experience:

> How malign, infectious, and unwholesome is the eternal smile of that indifferent criticism, that attitude of ironical contemplation which corrodes and demolishes everything; that mocking, pitiless temper which holds itself aloof from every personal duty and every vulnerable affection and cares only to understand without committing itself to action. Criticism become a habit, a fashion, a system means the destruction of moral energy, of faith, and of all spiritual rules, for life is an affirmation. To live we must believe something with all our mind and soul and strength.

The church is in danger of abusing the critical faculty. It is well that criticism has demolished the scaffolding of religion which we have too long identified with the structure itself, but humanity cannot feed upon negations. It must have something positive on which to nourish its life. It is time, therefore, that we were at the building again. If the church is to continue to move the world, it must have a message which it believes with all its mind and soul and strength. It must devote itself to the construction of such a faith. Our creeds and systems and institutions may change, but human needs do not alter. Men still know what it is to sin and to carry about in their lives the scars of broken law. They still know what it is to sorrow. They still feel the pain of failure and ruined hopes. They still grow old and die, and they are still hungry for the positive faith that will save them from their sins, comfort them in their sorrows, illuminate them in their darkness, and nourish them when the strain of life has left them weak and faint. The church must give them this message for which they hunger. Let the critics and scholars continue to fight over the debatable ground until they have reached conclusions, but there are certain fundamental and eternal truths which the church has in its keeping and which humanity cannot outgrow. Let it continue to emphasize the reality of sin and reconciliation to life and pain and sorrow through the sacrificial love of God in Jesus Christ our Lord. Let it set forth the principles in the social teaching of Jesus, the duty of service, the love for man as man without regard to race, color, or condition, the spirit of comradeship and mutual regard which alone can solve our problems in human relationship. Let it continue to urge men to live their lives not in the light of the immediate present but in the light of that great hope which breaks across the years. The Fatherhood of God, the Saviourhood of Jesus Christ, the brotherhood of man; the world has not yet outgrown this evangel.

Lucius H. Bugbee.

Art. XII.—THE PREACHER'S PULPIT PRAYERS

Pulpit prayers are worth careful study. People stare about or mentally wander afar during the period they occupy. The prayer ought to grip the attention. All hearts should be lifted into the presence of God. He is near, though we fail to recognize it. The sermon falls flat unless the preceding devotions emphasize that fact. Strength is needed for the sermon, but not all. The opening services will command the best, both to unify the audience and start the brain and loose the spirit of the preacher. It is a dangerous expedient to invite a visitor to offer the opening petition. This is the pastor's province. He knows the flock and their ills and joys. The visitor who expects recognition may pronounce the benediction. This is better than to put a stranger's voice into the initial moments. If all the devotional moments are used to pick up the various scattered minds in the audience, the sermon will start with a hearing. An opening quietness must be secured. Our fathers and mothers were generally trained to offer silent prayer as they entered the sanctuary. Some knelt by the pew. Others bowed the head. These customs might profitably be revived. A few churches begin the hour with the singing of the doxology. This makes a unity at the start, but the noise enables some to cover conversation. Minds can also more easily wander. It is more effective to stand in absolute silence for two or three minutes. Request every one to stop wherever they are at the moment, so that there will be no moving. It is announced that this silent time is to be spent by each one mentally reminding himself of the real presence of God. The unusual quiet stops minds and brings near the purpose of the place and hour. Late ones miss it. Tardy ones find themselves standing in the aisles. Noisy ones must cease. Most people will employ the time in prayer, thus rarifying the atmosphere for the whole following period. Close the quiet moments with a few sentences which thank God for his presence and the blessings possible for open hearts. Dull-spirited people, under the spell of this vivid reminder, will be aroused because they do not feel the Guest's touch, or catch the

aroma which exudes from his garments. The following prayer may be suggestive: "Lord Jesus, we come as thy disciples. We are gathered in thy name. Thou hast promised to be in our midst. Thou art here. We thank thee. May we accept the bread proffered by thy fingers and go away refreshed. Send us out enlightened. May this joyful vision of thy face live with us all week, for thy Father's glory. Amen." The collection offers place for spiritual culture through a prayer. Money matters bother most churches. Stinginess has a strong grip. It is difficult to shake off. We have disgraced religion by calling church-money raising "begging." We must lift it away from this stigma. Dollars must be given to Christ, not to the preacher, missionary society, or church building. Gold and silver are so much concentrated service. If given to be seen by men, it will not be noticed by God. The costly ointment may still be poured on his feet if money gifts express our love. He who commended the widow's mite counts every collection worthy his notice. We may make the offertory a bit of heart-worship. The gifted soloist is likely to distract attention. If the organist does not know the master-touch, absolute quiet during the passing of the plates will do no harm. The right spirit must be introduced at the start. Many ministers offer the prayer when the collection is returned. It creates a giving attitude to pray over the empty plates, while the collectors hold them, just before starting out. It will affect the giving. Here is a prayer that may help to illustrate its aim: "Our Father, we thank thee for the gift of thy Son, Jesus. We thank thee for his love and for the transforming work he has wrought in the world and on our hearts. We thank thee for the church and the fellowship of saints. We thank thee for the work committed to our hands. Help us to do our full part. Teach us how to serve. May we show our love in the offerings we now bring. Read in our hearts the deep and sacrificing affection this money expresses, because it is the best we can do. Thou who didst sit over against the treasury, sit here and watch our giving and smile upon us with thy commendation, and use us for the constant upbuilding of the kingdom, in Jesus's name. Amen."

The main prayer makes the largest demands upon us. The

posture is not unimportant. So many of the audience now sit bolt upright. This is less true in the South than in some sections of the North, East, and West. It is too bad that the old-fashioned kneeling custom has so generally disappeared. It would pay to put in kneeling stools as exist in some Pennsylvania Methodist churches. It is a beautiful thing to see a whole audience kneeling in reverent quietness. It would be better to have all stand, if it aids the effort to catch the thought and attention of all. No whispering or noise can be allowed. If the organ motor squeaks have it fixed on Monday. If human noise of any sort is discovered, pause in the midst of the prayer until it stops. A clear and penetrating though not a shouting voice will aid the devotional attitude of the company. They should hear the words but not be wearied or harrowed by the voice. The more music in the utterance, the better the effect. The sepulchral sounds and whispers are a hindrance. The tender, natural conversation which grows out of the familiarity of a son and father should characterize it. The first words require thought. It is not necessary to repeat all the titles given to God. It is well to recall the power and dignity of Deity, but that may be exaggerated. People already put him too far away. High-sounding terms cover up the Father and make him unreal. He is interested in our condition. The Elder Brother came to take away strangeness. We are no longer foreigners but fellow citizens. We are sons, and may come as such. A learned professor visited Emmanuel Church, Boston, broken down with nervous prostration. He said to Dr. Worcester, "If you can convince me that God is my Father, I will go out of here a well man." Our prayer must reveal this intimacy. It should be natural and easy and full of heart. Confidence will characterize it. Words are not thrown into space, but they are addressed to an ear of sympathy. The words are not as important as the spirit. Purinton said, "Words are the only things God never hears in a prayer." Yet the vocabulary strengthens and directs the right heart attitude. We must recognize the personality and nearness of Jehovah if the petition has any strength in it. "Lord God of Hosts, Omnipotent Ruler of the Universe and Conserver of all forces, look on these poor, finite weaklings gathered in thy

presence" may be well in some companies; it will not touch most audiences into worshipfulness. Jesus taught us to start prayer, "Our Father who art in heaven." That thought is rich. "Our Father, we, thy dependent children, called to become like Christ, wait in thy presence," has a fine-keyed familiarity that leads to freedom.

Prayer is not begging. It is not an itemized list of required things. God is more willing to give than we are to receive. He knows our needs. When we are ready he will fill us. All our devotions aim but to put us where he can bless. Hence the purpose of prayer is to fit us so that the Father can give us, his children, the things we need. Thanksgiving will occupy a large place. It will form an atmosphere-clearing gratitude. We will then behold past blessings hitherto unrecognized, innate talents covered or forgotten, friendly faces hidden by the blur of our despair, and open doors promising increased usefulness. Count common conditions—health, home, and happiness periods. Itemize several. Recall Christian-country conveniences. Special propitious local happenings may be named. Do not forget recent church blessings or opportunities now opening. Remember the heart-feeding things, such as friends, cheer-bringers, and dear ones. An amazing list will grow until the voice gets glad and the faith becomes firm. Then use promises by claiming coming events. Christ has assured us that he will be in the "midst." Rejoice in audible words that he is there. Praise him for sure help in the service and new undertakings soon to be or already entered in his name. This is our right. It is evidence of an invincible faith. Confession will naturally follow the wonder which grows in the glory of all his goodness. Sins are not then so easily excused. Ugliness clothes them. Neglected grace explains them. All are admitted. That gains pardon and forearms for the future. False self-confidence is lost. Failures stand out in right relations and a spurring desire comes to correct them. We ask for aid with a teachful heart. Mistakes are admitted, not backed up by worse ones. We sit as a much-moved child in the presence of melting love, eager to enter the large life-openings before us.

Then may come the exact petitions. We are ready for them. His will is our delight. All we ask is desired only that we may make a better disciple with less stains and failures. Some such details as the following will follow: "Live in our homes, Good Father. May our dear ones see evidence of thine indwelling in our words and ways. Enable us to train the little ones so that they will gladly and honorably wear thy name. Make us good friends to folk. Scatter cheer through us as the spring-coming bird does by its song. So sunshine us that virtue may get food wherever we go. Win sinners to hope and cleanness through the beauty of thy face shining out of us. Saturate our church with thy presence. Drive out all chilling customs or hurtful methods. May the stranger, because of our brotherliness, recognize this sanctuary as the Father's house. Scatter any selfish cliques. Save us from spending ourselves on the unneedful. Arouse our whole membership to service. Give food to everyone. Gladden the lonely, aged ones. Deliver those in middle years from ruttish habits. Direct the warming enthusiasm of youth. Help us to be arms to the children to bless them in thy name. All these things we ask for all the churches who love and exalt the Christ of God."

Then will naturally follow the petitions for world-betterment. Public officials will be remembered, not abused. Missions will come to the eye. Locally known workers will be named. Special movements will be marked out. Many particular matters will come up which hearty interest will insert here. The close will briefly recall again God's presence in the room and breathe an expectation of his guidance in the whole content of the coming moments. A fitting close may be: "All our petitions, O Father, are for the glory of God and the good of man. Amen."

Christian F. Reisner

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

A BIT from Carlyle's Sartor Resartus: "'There is no Religion,' reiterates the Professor. Fool! I tell thee there is. . . . But thou as yet standest in no temple; joinest in no psalm-worship; feelest well that, where there is no ministering priest, the people perish? Be of comfort! Thou art not alone, if thou have faith. Spake we not of a communion of saints, unseen, yet not unreal, accompanying and brotherlike embracing thee, so thou be worthy? Their heroic sufferings rise up melodiously together to heaven, out of all lands, and out of all times, as a sacred Miserere; their heroic actions also, as a boundless everlasting psalm of triumph. Neither say that thou hast now no symbol of the godlike. Is not God's universe a symbol of the godlike; is not immensity a temple; is not man's history, and men's history, a perpetual evangel? Listen, and for organ-music thou wilt ever, as of old, hear the morning stars sing together!"

A REVIVAL OF RELIGION[1]

CAREFUL students of social tendencies report a reaction against the prevailing laxity in conduct and opinion. This is sometimes characterized as a moral renaissance. It goes deeper: it is nothing less than a revival of religion. Yet it does not appear to be the result of any of the ordinary evangelistic efforts or agencies. It is springing up in unwonted places, and is finding utterance by unprofessional and unfamiliar voices.

Anyone who has ears to hear must catch now and then in the common speech of men a note of unusual seriousness. The facts which have been coming to light during the last few years respecting the terrible infidelity and abuses of power in high places have touched the heart of the common man with a sense of solicitude. In days like these the airy optimism which can see no perils in the path of the nation is an impertinence. Sensible men are not ashamed to confess their fears, and in their study of existing conditions the truth

[1] Reprinted from the Century Magazine for April, by permission of the Century Company.

is brought home to them that the remedy which is needed is a deepening of the life of the people—something organic and elemental which shall change the common currents of thought and feeling and renovate the springs of character.

No doubt some correction in the common moralities is needed. To our complex and cryptic financial system we must learn to apply the principles of ethics; the eighth commandment needs a large new annotation. Human invention was never so prolific as it is to-day, and its resources have been taxed in devising new ways of stealing. They must be searched out and legibly labeled: that is the business of the law-makers. But when all this shall have been done, the deepest need of the people will still be unsupplied. That is the awakening in their consciousness of the sense of the great loyalties on which life is built. Moral rules are not enough; what is needed most is moral motive power—the love of righteousness, the impulse to integrity, the enthusiasm of virtue. And this, as even the common man is beginning to feel, is kindled only by religion—by fellowship and communion with that "Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness."

Thus, even those who have been supposed to be farthest from the common creed are clearly recognizing that a merely secular morality is not enough; that there must be something sacred and supreme in it, else it will have little meaning for us and little power over us. Dr. Felix Adler, in his book on The Religion of Duty, in which he powerfully argues that duty must include a religious element, says: "The moral law is not a convenience nor a convention; it is not imposed in order that we may achieve happiness for ourselves or others. The moral law comes out of infinite depths and heights. There is a voice that speaks in us out of the ultimate reality of things. It is not subject to us, but we are subject to it and we must bend our pride."

Dr. Stanton Coit, of London, another leader of the same school, declares: "The whole of the moral law is by no means contained under the conception of love to one's neighbor. . . . If Christ meant Righteousness, when he spoke of 'the Lord thy God,' if he meant Righteousness worshiped as the sovereign reality of life, we must assent to his declaration that the first and great commandment is 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind.'"

All this means that religion is, after all, the principal thing; that a mere readjustment of ethical formularies is not enough; that a deeper note than this must be struck if we hope to restore the lost

harmony to the human soul and the social order. There must be something to worship, something that kindles our purest love and marshals our highest loyalties. Nothing less than this will meet the social need of the time, which is a call for a radical change in ruling ideas, for a mighty reconstruction of ideals, for new conceptions of the meaning and value of life.

The call is heard, as we have already said, in many unexpected quarters. A daily newspaper published in Wall Street declares that there is nothing the country needs just now so much as a revival of old-fashioned religion. A daily paper published in the interior has taken every morning for a week the subjects of its leading editorial from the phrases of Paul's praise of love as the greatest thing in the world. The last Christmas number of a Western daily journal had a brilliant editorial three columns long upon "The Holy Spirit," written by one of the strong journalists of America, and full of the passion of a genuine religious faith. These are signs of the times. Men are thinking seriously and feeling deeply on these great themes of the inner life. Even those who have not philosophized much about it have the impression that help must come from this quarter in resisting the encroachments of the dominant materialism, and in bringing the people back to the ways of sanity and integrity.

One phase of this revival of religion is significant. Its main concern is less for individual than for social well-being. The two cannot well be separated, and doubtless those who are earnestly promoting it have a consciousness of their own personal need of deliverance from the engrossing mammonism. But the emphasis rests on the common danger, and the salvation sought is primarily a social salvation. The notion seems to be gaining that the moral health of the individual cannot well be preserved in a fetid social atmosphere. Heretofore there has been much protest against any close contact of religion with business or with politics. Now it seems to be assumed that nothing but religion can renovate brutalized business and corrupt politics. It is a great enlargement of the popular conception of religion, and ought to gain for it some new consideration.

ADDRESS AT A HIGH SCHOOL COMMENCEMENT

The public schools of this country are our proudest educational possession. They are more important than colleges, schools of science, academies of art, and conservatories of music, as staples are

more essential than luxuries, as bread is more important than meringues and Charlottes Russe. We would not thank Europe to give us all the great universities that load her learned soil, and take away from us, in exchange, our common schools.

In education, public or private, national or individual, what is elemental and fundamental is of prime importance; in building a house or an education only a shaky and flimsy superstructure can be reared on insufficient foundation. A process of instruction which permits young men to be reading Tacitus and Diodorus Siculus, Æschines and Cicero, Greek by the chapter and Latin by the volume when they are unable to write English sentences or even words without blundering, is sadly imperfect; and when a Doctor of Divinity is deficient in the elementary knowledge of syntax and orthography, something else besides his divinity needs doctoring.

With us in America universal education is a public necessity, and therefore a public duty. For us to doubt the possibility of universal education is to discredit the principles of our Constitution, to surrender our faith in successful democracy, and to renounce the blood-bought traditions of our fathers. We must leave it to the aristocracies to contend that the liberal education of all the people is impracticable, while we make all haste to silence their cavil with practical demonstration, emulating in our efforts the enthusiasm of the Frenchman who said, "Sire, if it is impossible, it shall be done."

In a country where every man is a participant in government there is need of intelligence, and, as the safety of the State is absolutely involved, it is the State's affair to provide for education in order that the republic may suffer no detriment from the ignorance of its citizens. It is the prerogative of the State to compel education. Does some man say, "Hold! This is a land of liberty; there must be no compulsion"? We answer: Every government has an unquestionable right to make all laws and take all measures necessary for its own security and the operation of its fundamental theories; and education is a necessity for democracy. The kind and amount of education which the State has a right to require for every child is determined by the duties which the citizen will be obliged to discharge and the privileges he should be fitted to improve. The cost of education it is just and expedient to throw on property, raising it by taxation; for it is property which is thereby defended, and which in the end reaps and visibly represents the resultant benefits. What is thus laid out will be paid back tenfold. Beyond this power of the

State to compel the individual, our welfare requires and our Constitution allows a national superintendence in the matter of education. It is made the duty of Congress to guarantee a republican form of government to all the States, and in this duty is implied assistance to each State in providing the conditions essential to the maintenance of such a form of government. Intelligence is the first of those conditions; and it may be the prerogative of the central government to induce or compel every State to a thorough system of general education. A valid argument can be made for the strong interference of government, with legal coercion, to thrust every child into the schools and keep it there for a goodly number of the proper years of its life. Great degrees of prosperity are deferred for our country until, in every State, the rudiments of knowledge shall be put within the reach of all and made as public as the dust of the highway, which impartially blows in at the open doors of poverty and sifts in at the curtained windows of wealth, settles alike on the glossy broadcloth of the gentleman and on the sweat-stained shirt of the laborer.

If American education is to be anything in which we may consistently take pride, it must be characterized by publicity, freeness, and universal prevalence; without these features we can have but limited room for congratulation. It is needful that the educational system comport and suit with our other institutions, civil and religious. Now two conspicuous and ruling facts preoccupy the territory of the New World—Christianity and democracy; between them there is eternal and natural harmony. They have one central shaping principle in common; their idea and end is, each in its own realm, to make for all an open way from the lowest condition to the highest. Christianity aims to take the most degenerate human being and lift him to the heaven of heavens; takes him from his spiritual beggary and restores him to the purple royalty of his birthright; makes the "chief of sinners" the chief of apostles; and so exalts to honor a fallen woman, breaking her alabaster box on the feet of Him who had broken her stony heart, that, to the end of time and the ends of the earth, all ages and peoples must be told the story of her devotion. Similarly, democracy, which is only the gospel of Jesus Christ applied to government, having the same informing spirit as Christianity, with the New Testament as its inspiration and text-book, aims to imprison no man in the place or condition where he was born, but to guarantee him all opportunities, great as well as small. Democracy has actually constituted here that Utopia which Ruskin contempt-

ously described, in words we proudly accept, as a "state of general scramble, where everybody has a chance to come to the top." Precisely the thing in which we glory is, that ours is that wonderful land where, in civil affairs, there is a path from the gutter up to the greatest guerdon ever given to grand endeavor and noble deserving; where Lincoln goes from a flatboat to the helm of the ship of state, Grant from a tannery to the highest rank and office, and Henry Wilson from a shoemaker's lap-stone to the United States Senate and afterward to its gavel and presiding chair.

There is an inclined plane of possible ascent from the lowest to the highest places. The privileges of life are not broken into unconnected tiers and flats—landings with no flights of stairs between; but in the great, many-storied house of society in which we dwell there are broad stairways from the deepest subcellars all the way up to the broad, breezy prospect of the housetop. Ruskin once wrote: "That organization of society is the best which gives to a man the least encouragement to thoughts of any great future advance in social life." To those in the lower levels this is a gospel of despair. Thank heaven, there is one country in which those who are born at the bottom of society, crowded by one another and by the mass above them, hear a voice saying, "Come up higher. There is room at the top"; where all men are at liberty to put their capital, whatever it may be, at interest in the bank of public possibility and increase. Hateful and abhorrent as the word "Commune" has at times been made, there is an ideal of communism for which we might well nail our colors to the mast, content to survive or perish with its fate—a communism guaranteeing to every human being all the wealth, of any sort, which on a fair and open field of unembarrassed chances he can honestly win. For such a communism we could claim divine sanction, since it is a distribution by the law of proportion according to the differing powers and advantages which God himself has assigned to each separate individual. Seeing, then, that these two imperial and peculiar facts in our national life—Christianity and democracy—stand out as headlands from which we must lay our course, it is obvious that the system of American education must needs be adjusted and harmonized, in spirit and in form, with them. Whatever may have been in other times or other lands, it is not for us, children of the Christian faith and devotees of the Declaration of Independence, to shut in intellectual privileges behind high fences made insurmountable and forbidding with upper fringe of serried spikes, or by stone

walls with unkind summit-ridge of broken glass, with heavy gates locked and tended by some Cerberus of a custode, but to surround them only with such light inclosure as will protect and preserve without prohibiting—fence enough to defend against marauding cattle and the brainless brute, but not to keep out any being who has a mind eager and hungry for the fruit of the tree of knowledge; for the glory of this day and land is not in fences, but in facilities; not in separation, but in share and sympathy; not in things which are the exclusive privilege of the few, but in those which are the broad profit and benign blessing of the many. It was feudalism which shut up advantages and power in castles on the heights, as the old gods were said to guard their glory on the summit of Olympus; it was the Dark Ages when learning and knowledge were secluded within convent walls and the men of thought all lived and died in cloister shades.

All roads used to lead to Rome, to the golden milestone at the foot of the Capitoline Hill; and when our educational provisions are complete, every country turnpike or byroad that passes the door of a common schoolhouse in the remotest frontier will be for all who choose an open highway, leading straight on, past the academy and the high school and the grammar school, to the college and the university and the highest educational advantages of the land. God's will as expressed in nature and the gospel is plainly that all great benefits shall be on the highroad. "Only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open." Nature makes her most precious gifts public ones—the air, the light, the rain. She exhibits the sunrises and sunsets in the open blue-walled galleries of the sky, with no charge for admission; and men follow her divine example in hanging the most transcendent pictures—the Transfiguration, the Last Judgment, the Communion of Saint Jerome—on the public walls of the Vatican, the Uffizzi, and the Louvre, where every footman can see them. It is cheering to note, wherever it appears, the tendency of the times to bring the privileges and endowments of the few into the possession of the many. It is music sweet as the songs of freedom to hear the bonds of exclusiveness snapping asunder. Cloistered conveniences must come out and comfort the crowd. No lad even, in the midst of a hungry multitude, may keep his five loaves and two fishes to himself, but must suffer them to be distributed, with miraculous multiplying, to the needy five thousand, by the hands of that munificence which is only God in disguise. We watch every tide of blessing that sets from above downward, from within outward, and

are glad and grateful about it, for its waves are teeming with hope and help and touched with a holy millennial light. All men have right to feel aggrieved at the reserve which gloats over its good things in proud and selfish privacy, builds a high fence around its garden lest the wayfarer should look upon the flowers, and dams up the brooks upon its premises lest they should flow across the public road and lave the feet of the tired traveler and soothe his thirst.

We can remember reading with a heart-leap, many years ago, that Turner's "Slave Ship," the masterpiece of that great artist, who was born in a hair-dresser's home in Covent Garden and buried with Sir Joshua Reynolds in the crypt of Saint Paul's, had been landed on our own shores, but we read with chagrin and jealousy in the following lines that it was not to be put on exhibition, being the private property of a wealthy American. What could it profit us to know that, somewhere between the two oceans, the finest water ever painted on canvas was hanging on the inaccessible parlor walls of some gold-bound nabob? John Ruskin deserved never to be forgiven by his fellow men for his determination to shut up his works in one costly edition, so expensive as to be beyond the reach of ordinary means. When we heard of that we said, "Ah, well, dear Mr. Ruskin, we can yet buy Homer and Dante and Shakespeare for a song—and the Bible is the cheapest of books."

That people is its own worst enemy which makes books and knowledge, education or art dear, or lays a tax upon them; it would do better to scatter, gratis, pages of the best literature, broadcast, "thick as autumn leaves that strew the vales in Vallombrosa." We would like to lay on every blacksmith's anvil a library from the primer to the lexicon and cyclopedia, from the multiplication table to the calculus, that he might be Elihu Burritt if he have the brains and the desire. What a eulogy was it on the Bay State when a Westerner could say, jocosely, in the United States Senate, that in Massachusetts they thought a man must be a graduate of Harvard College to be fit for the office of town constable. Stripped of its exaggeration, what was it but saying that Massachusetts believes every citizen is the better for an education? And what an honor was it to Connecticut, that Judge Daggett, Kent Law professor in Yale, could say that in a long life of judicial service he had never, save in three instances, found witness on the stand or criminal in the dock who, being unable to read and write, had been born in Connecticut. There should be in our borders no serfdom of body or mind, no clanking chains for sinews

or souls, no compulsion of low foreheads or cringing forms. And we pray for the time when a powerful system of universal education shall accomplish the redemption and development of American intellect; when the lowest mental destitution shall hear the voice and call of the fairest promise that beckons from the heights of learning; when the divinest culture shall turn to the thievish degradation which hangs writhing on the cross of its own ignorance, and say, "Thou canst presently be with me in my paradise of wisdom"; when the desolate and haggard waifs of the pavement, the Arabs of the street, all the children of every race, shall be handed on by a constraining education into years of usefulness and peace and power, and the naked walls of every empty mind become garnished with the furniture of knowledge and adorned with the tapestries of wisdom. By making the land one great school we will prevent it from being merely a workshop and forge, market and exchange.

To the scholars of this school a few words of counsel and cheer, which may not, perhaps, be so unfitted to any time of life as to need pardon of older ears for being uttered in their hearing. Three things may be said:

1. Be Workers. Think not of what you are to get, but of what you are to do. Find what you are fittest for, and do that one thing mightily. There is plenty of work to be found, and some of it so urgent that men ought to be breathless over it till it is done. In work there is profit. It ought to be a law that if anybody will not work he shall not eat, that the idlers might be starved into industry. A life of wholesome labor, filled with the daily activity which is fresh at dawn and weary at night, scatters uncounted blessings on its way; around its close is the radiance of a beneficent peace, and it earns an incorruptible felicity. In work is safety; the idler's paradise is one of the suburbs of the City of Destruction. In work is dignity; it were nobler to be a coal-heaver, washing the grime from one's face with sweat, than a gloved gentleman idling his way through the world, not living but only loafing; better break stones on the highway than be a brainless fop, a mere walking advertisement of the merchant tailors. It were more beautiful and meritorious for a woman to spend her days over the washtub, her arms in suds to the elbows, than be a frivolous butterfly passing life in foolish play and pride. The housemaid who is washing front windows yonder with bucket and broom is at worthier business than the elegant lady who does nothing more useful than to stand admiringly turning herself about before her

mirror, like a fowl upon the spit, or sit simpering at parlor windows to be admired. The mere seeker of pleasure does but cumber God's diligent creation. The drone is a criminal, and, if men were bees, would be hunted from the hive. So vapid is the sluggard's life, and so pernicious his example, that the dull gray alligator sleepily basking on the cozy shore of a Southern bayou is a less noxious and more useful animal, since his hide at least when he dies may make a pair of boots—which might be put to the excellent service of kicking loafers out of civilized communities. Be useful! Nothing is so magnificent as ministering, nothing so grand as service. You owe yourself to your race and to your Saviour; do not sink into the sin of Ananias—a mortal one—keeping back part of the price. Do all you can to make a sad world brighter, a bad world better; and to this end, since being is greater and more influential than doing—

2. Be Noble and True. Be noble in *thought;* for as we think so are we. Ideas make us. The thoughts on which we inwardly feed will give color and quality to our lives. It was said of the Venus of Apelles that her flesh seemed as if she had been fed on roses; Cleopatra dissolved pearls in her wine to beautify hr complexion; it is fabled that Hercules was fed on the marrow of wild beasts. It is as true of the mind as of the body, that if put in training for athletic contests, attention must be given to its diet. The soul must have its fitting food, as the silkworm its mulberry leaves, or it cannot spin about itself the rich cocoon of character. One who does not think cannot be virtuous.

Be noble *in deed;* for deeds are the blows which make a mark, acts are the coins struck from the die—let your life be a mint issuing only pure gold and silver. It is not enough to think; blossoms must make fruit.

> Do noble deeds, not dream them all day long:
> So shalt thou make life, death, and the vast forever
> One grand, sweet song.

Be noble *in manners;*

> For manners are not idle, but the fruit
> Of loyal nature and of noble mind.

Manners, like morals, come only by care and culture. We remember seeing by the dusky twilight of a Sabbath evening, in the rich gloom of an old church in Naples, the marble figure of a woman instructing a child, with this legend graven beneath the statues, "Educatio et disciplina mores faciunt."

Be noble *in word;* for words are puissant things. Speech is a great lever for good or ill. Language is the substance of thought, the image of life, the revealer of secrets, and by its purity and perfectness is measured the culture of the individual or the civilization of the race. Purity of language is one of the moralities, its desecration is profanity. It is worth the while of those who speak the language of Milton and Macaulay to speak it well. Let us not expatriate our minds and renounce our nativity by esteeming other languages better than our own. It is easy to take on foreign airs and prate of the liquid music of the Italian, the flowing facility of the French and the rugged strength of the German; but it is wiser and more seemly to master first our own mother tongue, and be content if we may only speak and write it purely in the best land under heaven, beneath the finest flag that floats.

It will be a great and gladsome gain if you can add to the power of pure speaking the higher accomplishment of sweet singing. A new charm arrives when the human voice, from weaving a plain web, warbles into embroideries of sound. Like prose thrilling into poetry, like plain-clad queens putting on their royal attire of satins and jewels, like Cinderella dressed for the prince's party, are "noble words" when fitted with "perfect music." Happy they who sing! It is a gift which, if they rightly use, will be a solace and a safeguard; they may sing away despondency and the devil, as Browning's Balaustion, with the Alkestis of Euripides, sang herself and her ship's company into safety in the harbor of Syracuse, and as Orpheus with his music brought the Argonauts safely past the flowery isle and on to Colchis and the golden fleece.

We spoke also of being *true*.

> To thine own self be true,
> And it must follow, as the night the day,
> Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Keep peace with conscience, court its approval, for when you have lost this you have nothing left that is worth keeping; without it the applause of men will be a sound empty of significance, and to "hear the nations praising" you will be unsubstantial and illusory as the roll of drums in the triumph of a dream.

3. Be Students always, even when you cease to be scholars, and master thoroughly that which you learn, for not what you acquire but what you assimilate will be of use. What you learn should be timber builded into your life, not lumber stored in your mind. If you weave

knowledge with the fiber of your soul and knit it fast into the structure of your very life, it shall be as strong wings with which you may fly; but if you hold it to you by mere external adhesion, fastened merely by the perishable wax of memory, then in your attempts to mount in the open air and sunlight of practical life you will meet the fate of Icarus, falling "with shattered pinions through the sun's serene dominions."

An education is never finished. You have just begun, but if you have two keys—a knowledge of mathematics and of the English language—all studies are accessible to you. Before you are ampler realms and fairer fields than you have ever dreamed, Elysian Fields green with the watering of Pierian springs, where you may pluck the unforbidden fruit of the tree of knowledge, fruit which, if I were asked to name, I should call, in Longfellow's phrase, "the golden pomegranates of Eden"—pomegranates we may say meaningly, because in knowledge there are many gifts and blessings, as in a pomegranate, if what a poet says is true, you have food, drink, odor, color, all at once, for it delights the eye with its veined beauty, pleases the smell with its aroma, allays thirst with its juice, and satisfies hunger with its pulp.

Knowledge is power. Plutarch relates that, when the Athenians, under Nikias and Demosthenes, marching against Syracuse, were defeated and taken prisoners, all the generals were put in prison and all the soldiers were branded in the forehead and condemned to dig and starve in the quarries of Epipolae. None were spared. No rich man was advantaged by his riches, no strong man by his strength, no handsome man by his beauty; none were spared except a certain few who could recite the poetry of Euripides the tragic poet. Any who could repeat a chorus or a prologue, the passion of a play or a few golden lines, was spared. If he lay bleeding on the battlefield they stanched his wounds and gave him drink and food; if he were a slave in the house or in the quarry and they heard him quote Euripides, they rose up in reverence, bowed to him as a master, bade him go free.

Knowledge, in their case, was liberty. In every case it is to be sought for like a treasure and kept like a crown.

THE ARENA

THE VEILED PROPHET

A RECENT incident between Ex-President Fairbanks of America and the Pope of Rome, Italy, reminds me of an old story, a story told by Feramorz to Lalla Rookh. In this story a youth kisses his loved sweetheart good-by and goes to war. When next he meets her it is in a place of seductive temptation to accomplish his fall. Here she tells how they had reported him dead, and she had become the bride of one whose face she had not seen, of whom she says:

> "Hist! I've seen to-night
> What angels know not of—so foul a sight,
> So horrible—O never may'st thou see
> What *there* lies hid from all but hell and me!"

The story tells how, early in the fight in which the "Veiled Prophet" was to be defeated, he

> Breathed a short curse of blood
> O'er his lost throne—then passed the Jihon's flood,
> And, gathering all whose madness of belief
> Still saw a Saviour in their downfall'n chief,

prepares for defeat. In his flight he takes Zelica—

> O, not for love—the deepest Damned must be
> Touch'd with Heaven's glory ere such fiends as he
> Can feel one glimpse of Love's divinity!
> But no, she is his victim.
>
> . . . to behold
> As white a page as Virtue e'er unroll'd
> Blacken, beneath his touch, into a scroll
> Of damning sins, sealed with a burning soul—
> This is his triumph; this the joy accursed
> That ranks him among demons all but first!

As he looks at the advance of the enfranchising host he thus voices the hate his silver veil but hides:

> "O for a sweep of that dark angel's wing
> Who brushed the thousands of the Assyrian king
> To darkness in a moment, that I might
> People hell's chambers with you host to-night!"

As the inevitable approaches, and he is in his own city besieged by javelins that fly

> Enwreath'd with smoky flames through the dark sky,
> And red-hot globes that, opening as they mount,
> Discharge, as from a kindled naphtha fount,
> Showers of consuming fire o'er all below,

he gathers about himself the few faithful followers that remain and seeks to inspire them by an address in which he asks:

"Have you forgot the eye of glory hid
Beneath this Veil, the flashing of whose lid
Could, like a sun-stroke of the desert, wither
Millions of such as yonder Chief brings hither?
Long have its lightnings slept—too long—but now
All earth shall feel th' unveiling of this brow!
To-night
* * * * *
I will myself uncurtain in your sight
The wonders of this brow's ineffable light,
Then lead you forth and with a wink disperse
You myriads, howling, through the universe!"

At the feast of death, to which he bids them,

Dreadful it was to see the ghastly stare,
The stony look of horror and despair,
Which some of these expiring victims cast
Upon their soul's tormentor to the last—
Upon that mocking Fiend, whose Veil now raised
Showed them, as in death's agony they gazed,
Not the long-promised light, the brow whose beaming
Was to come forth all-conquering, all-redeeming,
But features horribler than hell e'er traced
On its own brood; no Demon of the Waste,
No churchyard Ghoul caught lingering in the light
Of the blest sun, e'er blasted human sight
With lineaments so foul, so fierce, as those
The Impostor now in grinning mockery shows:
"There, ye wise Saints, behold your light, your Star—
Ye *would* be dupes and victims, and ye *are*.
Is it enough? or must I, while a thrill
Lives in your sapient bosoms, cheat you still?
Swear that the burning death ye feel within
Is but the trance with which Heaven's joys begin;
That this foul visage, foul as e'er disgraced
Even monstrous man, is—after God's own tastes;
And that—But see!—ere I have halfway said
My greetings through the uncourteous souls are fled.
* * * * *
For *me*—I too must die—but not like these
Vile rankling things to fester in the breeze;
To have this brow in ruffian triumph shown
With all death's grimness added to its own,
And rot to dust beneath the taunting eyes
Of slaves, exclaiming, 'There his God-ship lies!'
No—cursed race!—since first my soul drew breath
They've been my dupes, and *shall* be ev'n in death.
* * * * *
So shall they build me altars in their zeal
Where knaves shall minister and fools shall kneel;

Where Faith may mutter o'er her mystic spell
Written in blood—and Bigotry may swell
The sail he spreads for Heaven with blasts from hell!
So shall my banner through long ages be
The rallying sign of fraud and anarchy;
* * * * *
Now, mark how readily a wretch like me
In one bold plunge commences Deity!"

So ends the story of "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan"; a story always worth the reading.

We are indebted to two Americans for a momentary vision of the face of the Veiled Prophet of the Tiber. Archbishop Ireland—first not for precedence' sake, but to emphasize the better—with all the dexterity of trying to set one sect against the other lifts the veil from this ancient face. Ancient indeed it is; it is the face of "Hildebrand" himself. Ecclesiastical arrogance and papal pretense are as prominent as ever. Some things never change, though they are not eternal; swept on by the years they remain what they always have been. One thinks of the other "Veiled Prophet," of whom it was said:

As a grim tiger, whom the torrent's might
Surprises in some parch'd ravine at night,
Turns, even in drowning, on the wretched flocks
Swept with him in that snow-flood from the rocks,
And to the last, devouring on his way,
Bloodies the stream he hath not power to stay.

Long after Popeship has been buried, by the outgrown thoughts of men, deeper than any Babylonian city was ever covered, some enterprising archæologist will "find" this incident imbedded in the strata of the twentieth century, and will thereby prove to the enlightened race that in the year of Grace nineteen hundred and ten papal claims were as arrogant as they had ever been. While the archbishop holds up the glittering veil look at this face, America! and remember that it smiles on nothing unless it is in accord with the blasting dream of Gregory VII. To make the See of Rome supreme within the church, and the church lord over the state, is still the set purpose of this ancient face. Look at it! Look at it as long as the archbishop will hold up the veil; then, turning, look at your liberties

as if God had given
Naught else worth looking at on this side heaven.

All the faces of all the world you may see, open and free, on the streets of any large city in America. No face like this in all the world. No wonder that in Rome they hasten to drop the "veil." Remember the "veil" does not change the features.

We are indebted also to another American—Mr. Fairbanks; God increase his kind! A man who does not have to be told he is human. At the call of his free fellows he steps into power; performs his task like a

man, making no claims to divine superiority; steps back—no! steps *on* into private life and goes to perform the act of his career in refusing to stand in the snow at Canossa, and performs a braver feat than did Henry IV in taking Rome and besieging Gregory in the castle of Saint Angelo.

Look at this face. There is nothing that needs covering here. No "veil" hides his purpose! He will speak where he will speak—will be a man. He is an American, and if as such the Veiled Prophet of the Tiber will not receive him he will not be received! Look at this open face and rejoice that Zuleika's charms were lost on the Joseph of the American people. God made the face to be seen, not covered. The freedom of the open is the spirit of America; against this spirit the Veiled Prophet of the Tiber speaks. Which will America follow? F. B. Stockdale.

Asbury Park, New Jersey.

THE PRE-RAPHAELITES

After the centuries of formalism and convention following the Renaissance there came to art a movement full of originality, simplicity, and unaffected truth. Heading this impulse were four young painters—Rossetti, Millais, Holman Hunt, and Woolner—men who, first since Raphael, were experiencing the delights of freedom from hampering fears of propriety; who first were beholding beauty untrammeled by rules; and who first were realizing, with Ruskin, that "the butterfly is independent of art." They were the founders of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. The work of the Pre-Raphaelites embodies one of the greatest revolutions in modern art. The former school taught technique; the Pre-Raphaelites taught spirit. Followers of long-established theory were prone to subordinate a work to its creator; the Pre-Raphaelites lost themselves in their labor. The tyrant, Authority, declared: "Within these bounds dwelleth beauty; all without is unworthy of art." The Pre-Raphaelites said to one another, "Go to nature trustingly, rejecting nothing and selecting nothing." The critics would have made the butterfly soar in sweeping curves—lighting only among the orchids. The Pre-Raphaelites permitted it the freedom of its flitting fancy, and were delighted when it set the clover-heads to nodding. Pre-Raphaelite art is marked, particularly, by an unfailing fidelity to truth and a diligent attention to detail. Mark the hand of Rossetti, in the "Blessed Damozel," where as much care has been exercised in scattering the wind-swept leaves beneath the trees as in lighting the stars in the maiden's hair. Each blade of grass is growing, and each wayward tress is vibrant with life. Note Burne-Jones in "The Angels of Creation," where every bit of drapery on the slender forms and every feather in the great wings has a reality of existence and a beauty of expression in and for itself. Yet none of these effects is produced with mechanical exactness, but rather with fidelity to the mind's impression, translated though it be. Rossetti and his colleagues did not study anatomy, geology, nor botany, to secure perfection of form; at times, consequently, their drawing was defective.

They did study things as they saw them, however, and thus were able to breathe into all their painting the spirit of truth and purity. They loved beauty with sincere affection, loved it in the dusty weeds at the roadside quite as much as in the well-groomed lawn of an Italian garden —and their butterfly was found fluttering in the golden-rod of the meadow no less than among the roses on the trellis.

The object of the Pre-Raphaelite, however, was not to secure exactness in the treatment of detail, but to attain purity, reverence, and chastity in expression. Unlike the realist and the impressionist, he portrayed ideals, and they were ideals of thought rather than ideals of form. His figures were often drawn with exaggeration, yet they possessed a radiant power and effect in their soulfulness. His women, perchance, had long necks, extravagantly slender hands, and lips of unnatural fullness; yet they manifested a sincere spiritual beauty such as the apostles of classicism could never produce. The Pre-Raphaelite painted what he saw—all of it, and not more—but he saw with the eyes of a poet. He had no tricks, no illusions, no crafty devices, with which to reënforce his art. His was a style of childlike simplicity—the critics called it "puerility." He did not hunt the butterfly of beauty with a net and a tin box, to dissect it with pins under a microscope, but sought it living, full of vagrant whims, and "happy in the sunshine." His art was a living art, mysterious and divine. Thus the Pre-Raphaelites broke forth from the bonds of tradition and began a new era in the history of painting. Modern art is more sane, perhaps—more convincing, certainly—and, no doubt, truer to life and thought. Yet without their efforts it had never been so. It was their independence which gave freedom to the realist and daring to the impressionist. Even the reactionary soul of Whistler could not have striven alone against the authority of old traditions. The Pre-Raphaelites were necessary to teach a school of hidebound critics that the highest art is the expression of beauty, whether of ideals or of form, and that "the butterfly is independent of art," though art must forever attempt its capture.

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RELATION OF BISHOPS TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE

In Brother Miller's contention for the bishops as members of the General Conference, the case now is certainly not one of opinion but of law. What saith the law? In 1808 the law defining the composition of the General Conference was changed, making the General Conference a delegated body, chosen by the members of the Annual Conferences. This new law distinctly and specifically declares as follows: "The General Conference shall be composed of one member for every five members of each Annual Conference." If the bishops are not members of Annual Conferences, they are not eligible to membership in the General Conference. Under the law as it now is, the only way to get the bishops into the General Conferences is to first get them into the Annual Conference.

Membership in the General Conference is now specifically limited, as regards ministers, to members of Annual Conferences. Hence the Annual Conference may not go outside of its own members for General Conference delegates. This may be a misfortune to some. But if outsiders wish to get into the General Conference, they will first have to get into the Annual Conference. This is the only door.

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MEMBERSHIP OF A BISHOP

An additional suggestion to Dr. R. T. Miller's learned article on "The Bishop a Member of the General Conference—A Study." The evidence of a layman's membership in the Methodist Episcopal Church is in the "Church Records" of the local church with which he is connected. The proof of a minister's membership is in the minutes of an Annual Conference. That a bishop is a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church is shown in the minutes of the General Conference. For his Christian and Methodist character the layman is amenable, wherever he may be, to the local church with which his name is recorded. The minister is amenable to the Annual Conference for his Christian, Methodist, and ministerial character. The bishop is amenable ultimately, for his Christian, Methodist, ministerial, and episcopal character to the General Conference. The layman has a right to vote and hold office in the local church with which his membership is recorded and to which he is responsible. The minister has the same rights in the Annual Conference. Certainly analogy strongly teaches that a bishop has membership, with all its privileges, in the General Conference, in whose minutes his membership in the church is recorded, and to which he is amenable. That a man can be a member of the church in general, yet not a member of any local church, nor of any of the Conferences of the denomination, is certainly an anomaly that ought to be authoritatively denied or corrected.

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THE ITINERANTS' CLUB

THE PREACHER AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

One of the most interesting developments of modern life is the increased attention that is being paid to the great social movements of the time. To all appearance the individual is rapidly disappearing in the mass, and much of the work for human betterment is being carried on not through individuals but through organized forces. It is assumed that men must now be considered in their organized social relations if one would lift them into the best physical and ethical life. It is not, however, of the individual side of Christian activity that we are treating at this time. The conception of the writer is that the individual must ever be prominent because he is the controlling factor in the movements of the masses in proportion as he may be qualified in character and ability for the task. We will not claim that social science is being overpressed. In the past it has not been pressed sufficiently. It is certainly necessary to meet compact social forces which are hurtful by compact social forces which are helpful. Organized philanthropy has advanced very rapidly within recent years. Some are claiming that organized charities enable them to escape the embarrassment of individual inquiry and individual service for the help of the unfortunate. This aspect of their advantages is shown in the following extract from a report of the president of a hospital society in which he pointed out the advantages which the hospital would gain by joining the incorporated Federation of Charities. He said:

> There are a number of people who do not yet understand the practical benefits resulting from federation. It is a scientific and up-to-date method of doing collectively what has been done heretofore by individual effort. In other words, it is collective strength against individual strength. It prevents needless duplication and avoids injudicious charity. We are all tired of being exploited and pestered by the numerous and constantly increasing number of smaller charities which eke out a precarious existence. The constant appeals to purchase tickets, for donations to fairs and the numerous other devices in order to extract money are getting to be very burdensome, and the annoyance keeps pace with the increase of population. The federation will do away with all these individual and burdensome importunities for aid. Another phase of the federation which needs explanation is that the federation will not interfere with the management of the affiliated institutions. The autonomy of each remains as at present. No institution will lose its identity.

We cannot believe that organized workers would urge this as a proper argument. It would be a great danger to the social welfare if any system of organized Christian work should weaken individual efforts for human welfare.

It is further assumed that the chief work of reform is the betterment of conditions, and that when the environments of the people are made better, the many evils under which they groan will disappear. The general discussion of these questions, however, involves the underlying thought

that the difficulties and woes of men are largely temporal, that they have to do with food and drink and raiment, and that by placing within their reach galleries of art, lectures on scientific subjects, the care of health, they have restored man to that condition of happiness for which he was destined. This, if not stated in form, is implied in the fact that few other means are suggested as to the mode of taking the degraded masses and lifting them up into good citizens as husbands and wives and fathers and mothers. With all movements for human welfare the minister of Christ is in hearty sympathy. There can be no true pastor's heart that does not beat in harmony with every effort to surround all men and women and children with the physical comforts and with every opportunity for their best development. There is one fact, however, which the preacher cannot ignore if true to his mission: it is the fact of sin. A large part of the physical burdens under which people groan is not due primarily to their surroundings but to their propensities toward that which is wrong. Their environment did not create their propensities; it helps them on, increases them. But the remedy for all the world's ills, the fundamental one, is some method to reach a world of sin. Sin is disobedience to God. "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." "Fear God, and keep his commandments: for this is the whole duty of man." When man ceases to fear God, and does not recognize himself as a breaker of his law and a sinner against his Fatherhood, the way is open for all sorts of evil excesses. The rescue of men and women from sinful courses is accomplished by the power of the Holy Spirit. We sometimes sing "But power divine can do the deed," and this is the heart throb of our Christian thinking. Absolute reliance on human agencies, however good they may be and however effective they may be for a time, cannot effect a permanent cure. The work they accomplish is external. Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts and wrong actions; out of the heart must proceed the noble thoughts and Godlike actions. The appeal, therefore, of the minister of Christ must be to the heart; it must be accompanied by the teachings of the gospel. No teachings for sociological purposes have ever equaled those of the Master, and no sociological law is so potent as this: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

The Christian pastor of to-day, then, should first get a clear knowledge of sociological conditions. The facts are being ascertained by the various agencies which are engaged in social betterment; they are being tabulated and are open for the inspection of all. The minister should not be ignorant of these things; he should know the world in which he lives and the people among whom he works. This should especially be the case with the young minister. He ought to know, not necessarily by personal contact, but by acquaintance with the literature and from all sources at his disposal, the conditions of men and women among whom he works. It does not follow that only those who have lived in the social conditions from which they desire to rescue people are necessarily the best workers to rescue the perishing. Some of the most devoted have been those men and women who have never associated with the degradations which they are trying to overcome, but they have become acquainted with them, and

have willingly placed themselves by their side and given them the helping hand. The Christian Church should do its part in social amelioration; it should not leave it to non-Christian organizations or to ethical societies. These, however, are not to be condemned. The church has no need to envy those outside her pale who want to make men better. The desire to benefit humanity did not originate with them: it came from the Christ, whom we serve, whose influence is now permeating our society and is the unconscious power behind all these beneficent social movements. The Church of Christ or her ministers cannot be displeased with those who under other names and other forms, and even forgetting the obligation that they have to Christ, do the work which Christ and his church want to be done. A cordial harmony, then, with all that would do good is one of the great needs of this age.

The minister who would render the best social service must never forget that the highest achievement for the social life is to be wrought out through leading the lost to Christ and bringing them to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. This is so fundamental that we must present a protest against the church's omission of her great message that "Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," and must maintain that the only real salvation of our race as well as of individuals is to come through the teaching and inspiration of the Master of us all. There must be no evasion of this duty. This does not mean the carrying into social work the peculiarities of individual sects, but the carrying into all social movements the spirit of the gospel, telling the world the story of redemption, assuring all who hear that there is One able to save to the uttermost all who come unto God by him. "This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners"; "the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost." Forgetfulness of this is wrong alike to the souls committed to the church and to the state as well, for a successful state and a high civic life are only possible through men and women consecrated to the highest ideals and noblest service through faith in Jesus Christ. He taught that he who would be chiefest among men must be the servant of all. This great social movement in its relation to Christianity requires the wisest thought and the most prudent action. The preacher should be the foremost in social betterment; there is no wrong which he should not try to redress, there is no vice which he should not attempt to remove, there is no sorrow which he should not try to heal, there is no tear which the Church of Christ should not haste to wipe away. This is the mission of the preacher in his relation to our social life, and a mission which he cannot avoid without injury to the highest interests of the human race.

Social science, however, has not yet advanced to a position when it is able to give laws to the ethical and social life of the world. It is only beginning its mission and should be held to its proper limitations. It proposes to rest for its conclusions upon deductions growing out of the facts as they appear to the investigators. These facts are so varied and complicated, and often misinterpreted, that they have not yet become, and may never become, authoritative. There are certain questions

on which social science cannot speak with authority, certainly not when they are opposed to the clear teachings of the Holy Scriptures. There are some sins in social life which are not even debatable in Christian circles. To discuss them is in a measure to encourage them. All the questions of home life, and the laws governing it, though they may be the questions of sociological investigation, are not subject to the ever-varying deductions of social science. On these fundamental questions the preacher must appeal to the authority of Christ, and that authority is final. The kingdom of God will not be brought about by securing for men pure water, good air, comfortable houses. They are helpful but not fully adequate to the task. These in their fullness are the results of the kingdom of God, which is "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." "The kingdom of God is within you." When this kingdom is established in the hearts of men through faith in Jesus Christ and the purification of the Holy Spirit, it will produce these environments of men, bringing in a condition of comfort and happiness which all lovers of man's welfare are aiming to produce. The preacher as a social reformer must begin at the right point. His efforts for the betterment of humanity must proceed in the order in which they appear in the Sacred Scriptures. Paul's method is a true pattern for him to follow. Jesus was himself the greatest social reformer humanity has known, and his message to the weary world, to those who bear its burdens and feel its sorrows, was and is, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." John Wesley followed the method of Christ; he was not only a great evangelist, rescuing men from sin and leading them to holiness, but he was a great social reformer and wrought for the physical well-being of humanity in a way which has influenced the church ever since. He began his mission by preaching "the washing of regeneration and the renewal of the Holy Ghost." The Holy Club of Oxford may well serve as a model for the preacher of this new and progressive age.

AN IMPORTANT VIEW OF THE IDEAL MINISTER

Rarely does the public press pay special attention editorially to the passing away from their life work of ministers of the gospel, unless in some form they have attracted special attention. The every-day pastor and preacher fulfilling his work, and of which no record is made except that which is in the book of life, does not receive special consideration by the press, because his life is not related to the great public movements which stir large communities. It is well sometimes for the church to note what kind of a minister impresses those who are in the habit of looking upon him from the broad standpoint of the world's activities and not from the ecclesiastical side from which they are accustomed to be viewed in religious periodicals. A minister who can at once secure the high appreciation of his own people and of his associates in the ministry, and at the same time win the approbation of the leaders of thought amid the jostle of everyday life, may be recognized as an ideal minister. Such an instance occurred some time ago in the city of New York. After Rev. Dr. William

R. Richards, the pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, had entered into rest, one of the New York papers in an editorial used the following language, headed "A Living Example," which we quote in full because of its illustration of the point we have in view:

The death of the pastor of the Brick Presbyterian Church, yesterday, ended a life of much sweetness and beauty and a public career of more than ordinary usefulness to the community. There are probably other ministers in this city who are better known to the general public, but it may be doubted if there is one who has labored more earnestly or more efficiently to do the real work of the pastor of a numerous, needful, and exacting congregation. The church which was his is one of the historic churches of New York, and it is one which has not declined with age but, rather, has continued to increase in numbers and influence, in the variety and scope of its activities, and therefore in the demands which it makes upon its pastor's time and strength. How well Dr. Richards served it, as spiritual exhorter and guide, as intellectual instructor, as administrator of practical affairs and in the tender and intimate personal relationships of sympathy and consolation, cannot be told but must be deeply realized by those who had the privilege of association with him.

The example of his life affords what should be a convincing answer to those who are quaveringly inquiring how the churches are to be filled and how the people are to be interested in them. Here was a preacher who sought no adventitious aids to attract attention, yet who never lacked a great and deeply interested congregation. Here was a pastor who never indulged in exploits outside the limits of pastoral duty, yet who never was distressed by desertions from his parish. Here was a religious teacher who sought no new fantasies of faith and who discarded none of the vital and robust doctrines of his belief, and yet who never had occasion to lament the decline of faith or the failure of Christianity to lay hold upon the hearts and lives of men and women. His was a living example of the way in which to make the churches prosperous and Christianity a triumphant force in the world; and it will remain a living and potent example in his death as it was in his life.

This minister of whom such good words are said is mentioned in this editorial as having qualifications which may well be considered by the ministry everywhere. It is said that he did not use "adventitious aids to attract attention," but relied upon the gospel of Christ and the ordinary methods of work which have been recognized as appropriate for the Christian minister. He was not a specialist evidently with regard to either topics or theories; he did not employ sensational topics to secure the attention of the people, and yet it is said he "never lacked great and deeply interested congregations." It is indicated also that he maintained the robust doctrines of the faith; he was at once the exponent of the teachings of the church and of the historic Christian faith, and it is said of him that he 'had never occasion to lament the decline of faith." It is further stated in connection with his life that so methodical was he in the preparation for his work that although he died in the early hours of Thursday morning his sermon for the Sabbath morning had already been completed, written out in full, and was read to the congregation at the Sabbath morning service following his death. Such a man may well be called the ideal preacher. He was a well-rounded, balanced minister, with piety, scholarship, and preaching power.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

ABRAHAM

MANY of the advanced critics have relegated Abraham, along with other patriarchs, to the realm of myth and legend, and even those less destructive, who admit some sort of a historical basis for the existence of the "Father of the Faithful," regard it as nebulous and unsubstantial, or greatly idealized. Cheyne may be regarded as a fair exponent of the more radical views among the English-speaking critics. He tells us that the editors of the Hexateuch regarded Abraham "not so much as a historical personage as an ideal type of character," and though the story as related in Genesis has a religious value for *all*, "the historical or quasi-historical is for *students only*." This supposed hero of the Hebrews—for his real existence "is as doubtful as that of other heroes"—cannot originally have been grouped with Jacob or Israel. Professor Cheyne in a further discussion of Abraham's relation to Sarah, Hagar, and Lot, says, "though an assertion of relationship may be literally correct," it may, after all, mean nothing more than a political connection. Abraham's marriage to Sarah may be regarded simply as a symbol of the political fusion of a southern Israelitish tribe and the non-Israelitish clans south of Hebron. So, too, the story of Abraham and Hagar may symbolize the political alliance between Egypt and Palestine. The story of the separation of Lot from Abraham is intended as a foreshadowing of the breach between Israel, Moab, and Ammon. It would be easy to cite other writers of this school who palm off such theories as sane, sober criticism; but let the above suffice to show the absolute fancifulness and subjectivity of such a method.

The meaning of the name "Abram," or "Abraham," has ever been a real puzzle to Semitic scholars; this is especially true of the second component part. Driver, commenting on Gen. 17. 5, where the name is changed from Abram to Abraham, says: "'Abraham' has no meaning in Hebrew, nor is any meaning apparent from the cognate languages. The name is explained here simply by assonance." Cheyne, too, regards the etymological effort of the writer of Gen. 17. 5, as a mere word-play. And yet, notwithstanding the fact that there is no agreement among critics as to the meaning of the name, some, like Edward Meyer, have gone so far as to say that it cannot be the name of a man, but rather of a local tribal deity. The argument seems to be this: "Abram" may mean "sublime father"; that being the case, who would ever think of calling his son by such an appellation? The answer, of course, is, No one; therefore the name "Abraham," or "Abram," must be that of a deity and not of a human being; *ergo*, the story of Abram is a myth. Unfortunately for Meyer and those of his way of thinking, there have been Assyriologists who have maintained that the identical name has been found in the Babylonian inscriptions, and that as early as the Hammurabi dynasty, the contemporary of

Abram of the Hebrew Scriptures. Let no one misunderstand; it is not claimed that there are cuneiform inscriptions with the name of the Abram of Genesis. There was an A-be-ra-mu in the time of Abil-Sin, the second predecessor of Hammurabi. This man was the father of Sha-amurri, "the man of the Amorite god." Hommel, as early as 1894, called attention to a tablet which Meissner had published, and which is now deposited in the Royal Museum at Berlin, on which the name A-be-ra-mu occurs. Though Sayce, Pinches, and others accepted this discovery of Hommel as a fact, later examinations showed that the real transliteration should be A-bi-e-ra-ach. No doubt this correction led Cheyne to characterize Hommel's effort to establish the historical character of the Abraham narrative as a critical failure. Quite recently, however, Professor Unguad, of Jena, whose work we noticed in a recent article in this department, came out with incontrovertible proof that a man named Abram, or Abraham, is named in at least five contract tablets of the Hammurabi period. He first called attention to these tablets in the *Beitraege zur Archaeologie*, Vol. VI, Part 1. While doing some work in the museum at Berlin last summer, it was our privilege to discuss these tablets with Professor Unguad the very week he wrote his article, "Achaeology's Vindication of Father Abraham," which appeared in the Sunday School Times, January 22, 1910. In this article we are told that the tablets under discussion, now in Berlin, were discovered with many others at Dilbat, an ancient city, about fifteen miles south of Babylon, a place quite prominent in Babylonian history from 2230 to 500 B. C. These tablets belong to the Hammurabi period (2230—1939). Dilbat was a military post, and one of the officers stationed here bore the name Abram, or Abraham. It is a well-known fact that proper names in all ages and lands have a variety of orthography and pronunciation as well. This very day the writer of this article has heard his own name pronounced in three different ways, and that by men of his own city who have known him for years. No wonder, therefore, that the name identified by Professor Unguad as Abram is written in three different ways: A-ba-am-ra-am, A-bu-am-ra-ma, and A-ba-ra-ma. He calls attention to the fact accepted by Assyriologists that the character "m" as well as a short vowel in certain positions are negligible quantities in pronunciation; thus the form "Abaram," or "Abram," may be legitimately derived from the above. This being true, here, in Babylonian tablets of the Hammurabi period, is the exact counterpart of the name given in Genesis to the "Father of the Faithful."

As already stated, the etymology of the name is not quite clear; nor, indeed, is there a complete agreement as to whether the word is of Babylonian origin. Dr. Unguad is cautious, but modestly suggests that the name is Babylonian, with the possible meaning, "He loves the Father."

We shall close this article with the insertion of one of these contract tablets as translated by Professor Unguad. It is in regard to the hiring of an ox for plowing, and runs as follows:

An ox for plowing (?) belonging to Ibni-sin, son of Sinimgurrani, has been hired from Ibni-sin on the command of Qishti-Nabium, son of Etirum, by Abaram, son of Arvil-Ishtar, for one month. As hire for one month he shall pay a shekel of silver,

of which Qishti-Nabium already has received half a shekel of silver out of the hand of Abaram.

Before Idin-Urash, son of Idin-Laganeal.

Before Arvilya, son of Shamash-rimanni.

Before Belija, the scribe.

The twentieth day of the month Elul, year in which King Ammiditana built the Ammiditana fortress.

In conclusion it should be added that names corresponding to "Isaac," "Jacob," and "Joseph" are also found in these tablets. In form these are somewhat different from the ordinary Babylonian names, but correspond exactly to the West Semitic personal names. When we remember that "a troop of Amorites formerly living in Palestine and Syria invaded Babylonia a short time before the Hammurabi dynasty, the presence of such names is not difficult to explain."

THE AMURRU

THE lands or countries of the Western Semites, especially Palestine and Syria and the territory bordering upon the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, were designated by the general term Amurru. This is supposed to be the exact form for the nation known as Amorites in the Old Testament. The exact boundaries of the territory occupied by this people cannot be given, but from the biblical account, which is without doubt as reliable as and more complete than any other, it is clear that they were found in every part of Palestine. It seems that the several nations or, rather, tribes settled in Canaan at the time of the invasion under Joshua were branches of this great Amorite trunk, which occupied not only Palestine but extended far north and east beyond Lebanon to Aram. Amos employs the term "Amorite" in this same general way (2. 9). Modern scholars of all schools agree that Amorite includes the term Canaanite, the former applying specifically to those dwelling in the hills and the latter to those living in the lowlands. The term "Amurru" meets us often in the Babylonian and Egyptian inscriptions. It occurs several times in the Tel el-Amarna tablets; here, however, perhaps in a limited sense. From these facts it has been justly inferred that the Amurri were people of no little importance and culture in the millennium preceding the Exodus, and that judging from the inscriptions, their influence was felt from the Euphrates to the Nile. Indeed, it is more than probable that both Egypt and Babylon profited by contact with the Amurri, or the people of Amurru, because they were givers rather than borrowers in the development of religious and political culture. During the past decade the theory has prevailed very extensively that Israel derived almost everything in the way of religious culture from Babylonia. When the Wellhausen theory began to show signs of decay and disintegration, there loomed into view a new set of critics, the Pan-Babylonians, or the Astral-mythological school, with theories wilder, if possible, than anything in Old Testament criticism. It is without doubt destined to be short-lived, much shorter than Wellhausenism, which it has helped to overthrow.

That our readers may have some idea of the teachings of this new school, we can do no better than give a sample or two from the works of Professor Winckler, of Berlin, and Professor Jensen, of Marburg, who may be regarded as the leaders. The former makes all Hebrew cult dependent upon Babylon. The patriarchs, or the "leaders of Israel, such as Joshua, Gideon, Saul, David, and others, are sun or lunar mythological personages." Abraham and Lot must be reduced to the same category as Castor and Pollux of Roman mythology. To establish his astral theory, Winckler is a perfect master in reducing persons, places, and numbers to a mythical basis. The three hundred and eighteen men, for example, who were Abram's allies (Gen. 14. 14) are the three hundred and eighteen days of the year when the moon is visible. Kirjath-Arba, that is, "city of four," is so named because *Arba* is the name of a moon-god with his four phases. Beersheba ("seven wells") represents the seven days in each phase of the moon. Isaac resides at Beersheba, therefore he, too, must be a sun-god. So Jacob with his four wives is likewise a moon-god, and his wives are different phases of the moon; and as to his twelve sons, why, they are simply the twelve months of the year, and Leah's seven sons are plainly the seven days of the week.

Jensen has gone much farther, for, according to the Marburg *savant*, every important biblical character, from Abraham down to John the Baptist and Christ, has his origin in Babylonian sun-myths. He assumes that the proper names in the Hebrew Scriptures are to a very large extent mere adaptations from the Gilgamesh epic. Thus Christ of the New Testament is only another name for Marduk. "So that all which refer to the life of Christ—his passion, his death, his descent [into Sheol], his resurrection, and ascension—are to be explained as having their origin in Babylonian mythology." The above citations are from a very interesting volume, entitled Amurru, by Professor A. T. Clay, of the University of Pennsylvania, recently elected to the chair of archæology and Babylonian literature at Yale University. Professor Clay belongs to that group of scholars who, like ourselves, believe that the origin of Hebrew literature must be sought at a much earlier period than most biblical critics are willing to grant. Nay, more, he maintains in his book with great learning and cogent reasoning that Israel owes comparatively little to Babylonia for its religious beliefs and traditions, but, rather, that Babylonia is indebted for much of its culture and civilization to the Amurri, or Western Semites. He discards a commonly accepted view that the Babylonians derived their best and early ideas from Arabia, and then at a later date passed them on to the people of Syria and Palestine. He enters a protest, and reverses the order, saying that "the movement of the Semites was eastward from Amru and Aram," that is, from the lands of the West to the Euphrates. In other words, he maintains that Amurru possessed a higher and an earlier civilization than Babylonia. These Westerners were givers and not borrowers. It is needless to remind our readers that his theory harmonizes perfectly with the biblical story of Gen. 11. 2f., where we read: "And it came to pass, as they journeyed *east*, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there. And

they said one to another, Come let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar." As could be expected, the Amorites, or Western Semites, carried with them, on their eastward march, not only their commercial and industrial spirit but their religious creed and institutions as well. Thus the stories of Creation, the Flood, the antediluvian patriarchs, etc., were taken from the West to the East. This being so, the origin of Israel's culture must not be sought on Babylonian soil. We all know how eloquently the critics have expatiated on the great antiquity of everything Babylonian. To take but one illustration: It was but recently that they traced astronomy, or, rather, astrology, back to the early Babylonian period; now, however, Assyriologists of the highest rank, like Kugler and Jastrow, instead of placing it early, make astrology a product of the Greek period, or between the fourth and second century B. C.

The monuments of Phœnicia and Palestine, so far examined, know but little of early Babylonian influence "in the early period of Israelitish history, nor yet in the pre-Israelitish." Nowack, reviewing the excavations of Schumacher and Steuernagel at Tel-el-Mutesselim (1908), has emphasized this point. He says: "It is a disturbing but irrefutable fact that until down to the fifth stratus—i. e., to the beginning of the eighth century—important Assyrian influences do not assert themselves." . . . "It is most significant that in Megiddo not a single idol (*Gottesbild*) from the Assyrian-Babylonian Pantheon has been found," nor, indeed, anything to indicate the dependence of the Amorites upon Babylon for either culture or religion. On the other hand, the recent excavations in Palestine bear abundant testimony to Egyptian influence upon its early history, and this as early as the third millennium B. C. It is usually conceded that Semitic civilization is quite as old as that of Egypt. Indeed, some claim that Egypt derived its best culture from Babylonia. But, if the Sumerians exerted any influence upon Egyptian civilization, it was, most likely, indirectly, through the Western Semites or the Amurri. As high an authority as Professor W. M. Müller maintains that the Western Semites influenced Egypt in the very beginnings of its civilization. Arguments and facts like these have convinced Professor Clay that "an ancient Semitic people with a not inconsiderable civilization lived in Amurru prior to the time of Abraham." No one will deny that the Babylonians did make successful invasion into Amurru and subdued its people at different times in the early ages. It is, however, to be remembered that the Amurri in turn invaded Babylonia and founded colonies in the Euphrates valley long before the time of Moses. A great power like Babylonia could not have come in contact with any people without impressing some influence; but as far as Israel is concerned, this influence has been greatly overestimated. Indeed, it is now positively known that "many things that are actually Aramæan have been regarded as Babylonian." The New York Sun calls this volume of Professor Clay "A refreshing disturber of the current views of ancient history," a "book which will compel historians to recognize the originality of Israel instead of reducing it to a mere purveyor of borrowed notions."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK

CONCERNING THE PERIODICAL LITERATURE OF GERMAN PROTESTANTISM

THE theological and ecclesiastical movements in any country are, in the nature of the case, more fully—though in part less clearly—mirrored in its periodical literature than in the weighty books of its scholars. A "standard work" is quite as likely to mark the culmination of an epoch as to make an epoch. At all events, the process of a movement must, in great part, be traced in the contemporary periodical literature. If we have reason to take a very special interest in the religious thought and life of Germany—for she has long been the theological preceptress of the Protestant world—we have reason to devote no insignificant share of our attention to her periodical literature in that field. For the present we shall confine our observations to the national Protestant churches. The other Protestant denominations—the so-called "sects"—have, of course, their organs, each one doubtless serving its end with a greater or less degree of efficiency. The organ, for example, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, *Der Evangelist*, is a very creditable sheet. But the ferment, the broadly significant movements are for the most part within the national churches; and so their periodical literature is incomparably more interesting and important, since it must grapple with more difficult problems.

At the first glance we are struck by the extraordinary number of biblical and theological magazines and reviews that address themselves exclusively to scholars. Not that German Protestants are without interest in the popularization of theology! In recent years a strong tendency in that direction has been manifest among them, expressing itself in popular lectures, in series of *Volksbücher*, and in discussions in periodicals designed for the educated laity as well as for the clergy. Yet the impressive and significant fact stands unchanged, that Germany possesses a theological public numerous enough and interested enough to maintain so many and so weighty periodicals devoted to scientific theology. Several of these are purely reviews of the literature of theology. There stands in the first place the *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, that monument of self-sacrificing industry, an annual survey of theological literature in all its departments. There are also some biweekly and monthly reviews, the best of these being the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, edited by Harnack and Schürer. Its standpoint is liberal. Its conservative counterpart is the *Theologisches Literaturblatt*. Two of the most interesting and helpful publications in this field are *Die Theologische Rundschau* (monthly, now in its thirteenth year) and *Die Theologie der Gegenwart* (quarterly, now in its fourth year). The former, edited by Bousset and Heitmüller, represents a liberal standpoint, while the latter, edited by R. H. Grützmacher and five other specialists, is "positive," but modern. A peculiarity of these two journals is that they review books not singly, but in groups and

connectedly, according to departments. (The Rundschau, however, does occasionally make a single important book the subject of a special article.) The *Theologie der Gegenwart* is in reality an annual survey, each department receiving but a single treatment for the whole year. But there are theological journals in which book reviews form a very subordinate feature, or are even wanting altogether. No one of these occupies a more important place than the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (quarterly, founded in 1828). Its theological standpoint has been generally regarded as "mediating"; but in reality it seems to come nearer than any other to realizing the ideal of a nonpartisan theological repository. On the other hand, the excellent *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* (monthly) frankly represents modern orthodox Lutheranism according to the Erlangen type. Several excellent periodicals of a more or less general scope must pass unnoticed. One of this class, however—a comparatively new enterprise—must be mentioned as a typical sign of the times. It is *Religion und Geisteskultur* (monthly), edited by Th. Steinmann, Docent in the Moravian Seminary at Gnadenfeld. It is a very interesting and vigorous, but also decidedly liberal, journal. Steinmann's liberalism, manifested in this and in all his work, creates a distressing problem for the mild but conservative Moravian brotherhood. This is, however, not the first outcropping of liberalism in that quarter. Schleiermacher withdrew from the Moravian communion because he found it not broad enough for him. Again, in its time, the Ritschlian theology found an entrance among the students at Gnadenfeld, and thereby some of these were led finally into the national church. The present situation, however, is different from any former ones, for now liberalism calmly yet boldly seeks to maintain its ground within the communion. Since Steinmann has a considerable following, the situation is commonly regarded as "a crisis in the Moravian brotherhood." Most of his collaborators on the journal (it should be remarked) are liberal theologians of the national churches.

The several departments of theology and of church life have, generally, their special representative journals. There is a well-known *Zeitschrift* for Old Testament science, another for the New Testament and Patristic literature, a third for church history. The broad field of practical theology has several scientific journals. There are one for liturgies and ecclesiastical art, another for religious education, and, of course, several of a broader scope. These, for the most part, represent some well-defined theological standpoint, and some of them (as, for example, *Evangelische Freiheit*, edited by Baumgarten, of Kiel) frankly stand forth as the organs of reform movements in church praxis. The reform movements at the present time chiefly relate to catechetics, confirmation, religious instruction in the schools, discipline of pastors for doctrinal aberrations, the relation of the church to the state, and other like matters. A journal that deserves very unusual praise is the *Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*, now in its thirty-seventh year, edited from the beginning by Dr. Gustav Warneck, latterly with the assistance of Dr. Julius Richter and Dr. R. Grundemann. There are few who would deny to Warneck the distinction of being the highest of all authorities in the domain of the history and

theory of missions, and his *Zeitschrift* is a model of breadth and sound judgment. The universal respect in which it is held may be inferred from the fact that the Prussian High Ecclesiastical Council has authorized each parish in the kingdom (at the discretion of its local council) to procure the *Zeitschrift* at the charges of the parish and incorporate it in the parish archives.

There are several periodicals of importance that specially represent the field of systematic theology. Two of these cultivate Christian apologetics, the third "principial and systematic theology" generally. The apologetic journals (both monthly) are *Glauben und Wissen*, edited by Dennert (founder of the Kepler Alliance) and R. H. Grützmacher, and *Der Geisteskampf der Gegenwart* (formerly *Der Beweis des Glaubens*), edited by Pfennigsdorf. The standpoint of both is conservative and both render a good service. The third of this group, however, is both more interesting and more weighty. It is the well-known *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* (bimonthly), edited now by Herrmann and Rade, formerly by Gottschick (died, 1907). The general standpoint is Ritschlian, though some of the contributers are conservative and some represent the "history-of-religions school." At all events, it will be generally agreed that here we have one of the strongest of all contemporary theological journals.

Omitting any special notice of the many religious family papers (some of which have an extensive circulation) and of all local or provincial journals, we come to consider a very interesting and important class of papers: the weekly journals which address themselves to the educated public, and are the organs of ecclesiastical and theological parties. It is not easy for us to understand the strength of party feeling in the German churches. Yet we may fairly imagine the situation if we keep in mind that German Protestants have pressing upon them the problem of finding a *modus vivendi* of the representatives of the most conflicting tendencies within the limits of one ecclesiastical body. The party spirit may not be stronger than it was a generation ago, but certainly party organization has developed to a remarkable degree; and every group has its organ. For example, the "middle party" in Prussia (known as the *Evangelische Vereinigung*) has the *Preussische Kirchenzeitung;* the group known as the "friends of the Positive Union" have an organ called *Die Positive Union;* and so in like manner the other parties. The most interesting of the journals of this class are by common consent *Die Christliche Welt* and *Die Reformation*. The well-known *Allgemeine Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* also deserves mention. *Die Reformation* (edited by E. Bunke, Berlin) represents the conservatives in a fairly inclusive way, although the "modern-positive" group is more in evidence than the biblicistic group. Theologically *Die Reformation* is certainly not ultra-conservative, but rather frankly progressive. Nevertheless, it carries on pretty vigorous polemics against modern liberalism. But undoubtedly—apart from all questions of theological standpoint and tendency—the palm must be awarded to the *Christliche Welt* (edited by Professor Rade, Marburg). Its theological standpoint is Ritschlian.

GLIMPSES OF REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES

Some of our readers may enjoy a sprightly and sparkling critique published anonymously on Professor William James's Hibbert Lectures which were issued in a volume under the title, A Pluralistic Universe. Here follows the critique without quotation marks.

Almost every great philosopher has been annoyed by his devil. Of this history has assured us. Each according to his temperament has come to grips with his household demon. If Satan once in satanic exuberance threw a stone at the head of Saint Dominick, did not Luther fling an inkstand at the dark-skinned gentleman, thereby wasting his temper, good ink, and all to no decorative purpose, though the spot on the wall is still shown to pilgrims? The particular form of devil that entered the *atelier* of Cuvier was of the familiar bovine type. When the naturalist asked him what he wanted, "I've come to swallow you," was the amiable reply. "O, no, you haven't. You wear horns and hoofs. You are graminivorous, not carnivorous." The evil one departed, foiled by a scientific fact. Now students of demonology know that Satan *Mekatrig* may appear disguised as a maleficent idea. The latter part of his life Ernest Renan despised a devil he described as "the mania of certitude." He dearly loved a concept that couldn't conceive. Nature abhors an absolute, and for Renan the world process was *fieri*, a becoming, a perpetual recreation. Professor William James has his own devil, a haunting devil, which he has neither named nor summoned, but that sits by his bedside or with him at his study desk. This bright special devil is Monism, and to exorcise it, to banish it without bell or candle but with book, he has published his Hibbert lectures, delivered at Manchester College, on the present situation of philosophy. The book bears the pleasing title A Pluralistic Universe. It is the record of his recent adventures among the masterpieces of metaphysics; and what an iconoclastic cruise it has been for him!

When pragmatism was discussed last year in these columns, we criticised the doctrine—or attitude, or whatever jelly-like form it may assume—thus: "The nature of judgments, most important of propositions, is not dealt with by Professor James. Yet the consequences of judgment are seen in conduct. Pragmatism is not a theory of truth but a theory of what it is expedient to believe." "Precisely so," Mr. James could have retorted; "if it is expedient for you not to believe in pragmatism as a working system, then don't attempt to do so." This advice would have been a perfectly enunciated expression of pragmatism. We confess we do not find him any the less pragmatist in his new volume, as some critics have asserted. He is more protean than ever; but then the essence of pragmatism is to be protean. When you attempt to recall the color of the mind of William James you are forced to think of a chameleon. Running fire, he slips through your fingers, benignly scorching them. The entire temper of A Pluralistic Universe is critically warlike. He invades the enemy's

country. Armed with the club of pluralism he attacks the bastions of monism, rationalism, and intellectualism. For the seasoned theologian, says a Roman Catholic theologian, the spectacle must be exhilarating. That old ice church, the stronghold of rationalism, has long been an objective for ecclesiastical hot shot. To see a philosopher of the James eminence shooting the latest fangled scientific projectiles at a common enemy must provoke the query, *Quo vadis?* What next? *Wohin?* That Mr. James employs for hostile purposes the concepts of rationalism Mr. Paul Elmer More has remarked; but the philosopher had forestalled this objection in his note to Lecture 6. Speaking of Bergson, he asks: "Does the author not reason by concepts exclusively in his very attempt to show that they can give no insight?" He answers: "What he reaches by their means is thus only a new practical attitude." *Chi non istima, vien stimato!* we could add.

Let us broach the Jacobean arguments, with one intercalation. The enormous power of visualizing a fact, thanks to the author's intellect and literary style, makes of A Pluralistic World ambrosia for the happy many. Without doubt, beginning with Schopenhauer and down to Nietzsche and James, there has been an attempt to batter the musty walls of metaphysical verbiage. Such clarity of speech, such simple ways of putting subtle ideas as Mr. James's are rare among German or English thinkers. The French have enjoyed the monopoly in this respect. Indeed, so deft is the verbal virtuosity of James that his very clearness is often deluding and might become for a man of less sincerity a temptation to indulge in sophistry; but this we feel assured is not so. Whatever essential weaknesses there are in the ideas presented by our philosopher, they are at least presented with the ringing tones of conviction. Or can a man be sincere and a sophist at the same time?

The form of idealistic thinking that postulates an absolute came into English philosophy by way of Germany. "The Rhine has flowed into the Thames," said Professor Henry Jones; "the stream of Germanic idealism has been diffused over the academical world of Great Britain. The disaster is universal." Ferrier, J. H. Stirling, and J. H. Green are to be thanked for this. James thus defines the difference between empiricism and rationalism: "Reduced to their most pregnant difference, empiricism means the habit of explaining wholes by parts, and rationalism means the habit of explaining parts by wholes. Rationalism thus preserves affinities with monism, since wholeness goes with union, while empiricism inclines to pluralistic views. No philosophy can ever be anything but a summary sketch, a picture of the world in abridgment, a foreshortened birds-eye view of the perspective of events; and the first thing to notice is this, that the only material we have at our disposal for making a picture of the whole world is supplied by the various portions of that world of which we have already had experience. We can invent no new forms of conception applicable to the whole exclusively and not suggested originally by the parts. . . . Let me repeat once more that a man's vision is the great fact about him (without vision the people perish). Who cares for Carlyle's reasons, or Schopenhauer's or Spencer's? A philosophy is the ex-

pression of a man's intimate character, and all definitions of the universe are but the deliberately adopted reactions of human characters upon it." James deliberately renounces the metaphysical apparatus and casts logic to the dogs. He must of necessity approve of Jowett's "Logic is neither an art nor a science, but a dodge," quoted by Leslie Stephen; but when logic goes out at the door doesn't faith come in by the window?

With the dualistic theism of Christianity he does not concern himself. "Theological machinery" is not within the scope of these lectures. To demolish the monistic form of pantheism, that pantheism developed by Spinoza, which envisages God as One, as the Absolute, is the delight of our thinker. In reality we are all pragmatists, all pluralists without knowing it until now. On the stage of this theater of ideas the Cambridge master manipulates the concept puppets, the "*All-form*" and the "*Each-form*," and the duel is in this dramatist's hands very exciting. It is not merely a battle of conjunctions, of the *quâ* and *quatenus*, the "as" and the "as such," but a wholesome massacre of "ideas," Platonic and their congeners. It is a cheerful spectacle to witness an intellectual descendant of Kant, that grand old nihilist of Königsberg, blow skyward with his pluralistic dynamite the lofty structure which once housed the "*Ding an sich*," and those fat, toddling Categorical Imperatives. Professor James is the one philosophic showman who gives you the worth of your money.

He does not believe in an objective Truth with a capital—there are also the "lower case" truths to be taken into consideration. While he hints not at having heard Ibsen's statement that all truths sicken and die about every twenty years, it is not difficult to conjure our chief pragmatist as chuckling over the notion. Pyrrho was philosophically begat by Anaxarchus, and Pyrrho in turn begat pyrrhonism, which begat the modern brood of intellectual deniers, Kant and Hegel at their head. In so far as relates to monism, Professor James is as profound a doubter as Pyrrho. He would gladly extirpate the roots of this system, which builds from above downward. In a suggestive study, *L'Absolu*, by L. Dugas of Paris, the absolute is studied as a pathologic variation of sentiment. "*L'absolutisme, sous toutes ses formes, implique contradiction; il vise un but et un atteint un autre*," asserts the French thinker. We commend this study to Professor James. It may buttress later arguments.

"The pluralistic world," he continues, "is thus more like a federal republic than like an empire or a kingdom." Monism, on the other hand, believes in the block universe, in a timeless, changeless condition; "all things interpenetrate and telescope together in the great total confluxe." Philosophy, which is a kind of phœnix in its power of emerging from its own ashes, always reflects the Time Spirit. Formerly absolute and monarchical, it is now democratic, even socialistic. Pluralism appeals to Socialists. Only a few weeks ago J. H. Rosny the elder, the novelist and social philosopher, wrote a book called *Le Pluralisme*, the first chapter of which, "Continuity and Change," appeared in *La Revue du Mois* (April 10). Pluralism and pragmatism have been in the air since Ernest Mach and Richard Avenarius published their important treatises. Francis Herbert Bradley of Oxford, with his Appearance and Reality, is the man,

upon whom James trains his heaviest artillery. Josiah Royce is handled in A Pluralistic Universe more gently than in Pragmatism. We still hear of the "tough-minded" and the "tender-minded," and while transcendentalism (O, souvenir of Massachusetts!) is pronounced "thin," pluralism is described as "thick." As much as he dares Professor James avoids the conceptual jargon of the schools. His analogies, which are legion, are formed from the clay of every-day imagery. The immanence of god in the universe (lower-case god) he admits, but pronounces that god finite, not an All-form. Monism is "steep and brittle"—this for the benefit of Oxford. He has named his empiricism Radical Empiricism to distinguish it from the antique atomistic form. After that wonderful book The Varieties of Religious Experience we are not surprised to hear Mr. James discussing the phenomenon of psychic research—"I myself firmly believe that most of these phenomena are rooted in reality."

The truth is that titles such as Monism, Idealism and Pragmatism belong to the category of Lewis Carroll's portmanteau words, words into which can be packed many meanings. Mr. More has acutely pointed out that "in denouncing Platonism as the type and source of rationalistic metaphysics he [James] had in mind not the Greek Plato but a Plato viewed through Teutonic spectacles." This is well put. The world of thought is not yet through with Plato, Mr. James included. The terrain of mental vision would be terribly narrowed without the Greek.

Two interesting chapters are devoted one to Fechner and his animism, the other to Henri Bergson, that young French philosopher who has attacked the very ramparts of intellectualism. Read the paragraphs in which are set forth the impotence of intellectualistic logic to define a universe where change is continuous and what really exists is not things made, but things in the making: Renan and his *fieri* again newly instrumented by a brilliant Berlioz of philosophy; also Heraclitus with his fire and flux. While Professor James deprecates the tendency among the younger men to depreciate the originality of our latter-day philosophies, there is no gainsaying the fact that the massive wheel of the World Idea revolves and the systems of yesterday become the systems of to-morrow. Perhaps this is the real Eternal Recurrence of Nietzsche—that Nietzsche who has been the greatest dissolvent in German philosophic values since Kant.

Let us be grateful to Professor James for his large, lucid, friendly book; for his brave endeavor to establish the continuity of experience. He has worked to humanize rationalism, to thaw the frozen concept absolute. If he had cared to he might have described monism as an orchestra with a violin solo performer, making its many members subordinate to the All-form; while the pluralistic orchestra, each and every musician playing in harmony, would typify the Each-form. Yet despite his sympathy with "pan-psychism" and certain manifestations of "superhuman consciousness," no new Barbey d'Aurevilly will ever dare to advise William James—as the old French one did Baudelaire—either to blow out his brains or sink at the foot of the Cross and worship. Faith being the Fourth Dimension of the human intellect, the Cambridge professor dismisses it; yet mysticism rages mightily down Boston way.

BOOK NOTICES

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE

The Fundamentals. A Testimony. Vol. I. 16mo, pp. 125. Chicago: Testimony Publishing Company. Mailed free of charge to all pastors furnishing their address to the Testimony Publishing Company.

NOTWITHSTANDING that many of our readers will probably receive this book by mail, we wish to notice it. Two laymen are bearing the expense, believing that a new emphasizing of the fundamentals of the Christian faith is needed. We have not space to review the chapters by Professor James Orr, of Glasgow, Dr. B. B. Warfield, of Princeton, Dr. G. Campbell Morgan, of London, Dr. R. A. Torrey, Dr. A. T. Pierson, and Canon Dyson Hague, of Canada, but we cannot refrain from spreading on our pages the personal testimony of Dr. Howard A. Kelly, of Johns Hopkins, Baltimore. To those who have believed that faith in the Bible and the God of the Bible does not harmonize with the modern scientific spirit the following testimony from a distinguished physician and surgeon should be of great value. The Editor of Appleton's Magazine says of Dr. Kelly:

"*Dr. Howard Kelly, of Baltimore, holds a position almost unique in his profession. With academic, professional, and honorary degrees from the Universities of Pennsylvania, Washington and Lee, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, his rank as a scholar is clearly recognized. For some twenty years professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Johns Hopkins University, his place as a worker and teacher in the applied science of his profession has been beyond question the highest in America and Europe. At least a dozen learned societies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, Germany, Austria, France, and the United States have welcomed him to membership as a master in his specialty in surgery. Finally, his published works have caused him to be reckoned the most eminent of all authorities in his own field.*" Dr. Kelly says:

"I have, within the past twenty years of my life, come out of uncertainty and doubt into a faith which is an absolute dominating conviction of the truth and about which I have not a shadow of doubt. I have been intimately associated with eminent scientific workers; have heard them discuss the profoundest questions; have myself engaged in scientific work, and so know the value of such opinions. I was once profoundly disturbed in the traditional faith in which I have been brought up—that of a Protestant Episcopalian—by inroads which were made upon the book of Genesis by the higher critics. I could not then gainsay them, not knowing Hebrew nor archæology well, and to me, as to many, to pull out one great prop was to make the whole foundation uncertain. So I floundered on for some years, trying, as some of my higher critical friends are trying today, to continue to use the Bible as the Word of God and at the same time holding it of composite authorship, a curious and disastrous piece of

mental gymnastics—a bridge over the chasm separating an older Bible-loving generation from a newer Bible-emancipated race. I saw in the book a great light and glow of heat, yet shivered out in the cold. One day it occurred to me to see what the book had to say about itself. As a short, but perhaps not the best method, I took a concordance and looked out 'Word,' when I found that the Bible claimed from one end to the other to be the authoritative Word of God to man. I then tried the natural plan of taking it as my text-book of religion, as I would use a text-book in any science, testing it by submitting to its conditions. I found that Christ himself invites men (John 7. 17) to do this.

"I now *believe* the Bible to be the inspired Word of God, inspired in a sense utterly different from that of any merely human book.

"I *believe* Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, without human father, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary. That all men without exception are by nature sinners, alienated from God, and when thus utterly lost in sin the Son of God himself came down to earth, and by shedding his blood upon the cross paid the infinite penalty of the guilt of the whole world. I believe he who thus receives Jesus Christ as his Saviour is born again spiritually as definitely as in his first birth, and, so born spiritually, has new privileges, appetities, and affections; that he is one body with Christ the Head and will live with him forever. I believe no man can save himself by good works, or what is commonly known as a 'moral life,' such works being but the necessary fruits and evidence of the faith within.

"Satan I *believe* to be the cause of man's fall and sin, and his rebellion against God as rightful governor. Satan is the prince of all the kingdoms of this world, yet will in the end be cast into the pit and made harmless. Christ will come again in glory to earth to reign even as he went away from the earth, and I look for his return day by day.

"I *believe* the Bible to be God's Word, because, as I use it day by day as spiritual food, I discover in my own life as well as in the lives of those who likewise use it a transformation, correcting evil tendencies, purifying affections, giving pure desires, and teaching that concerning the righteousness of God which those who do not so use it can know nothing of. It is as really food for the spirit as bread is for the body.

"Perhaps one of my strongest reasons for believing the Bible is that it reveals to me, as no other book in the world could do, that which appeals to me as a physician, a diagnosis of my spiritual condition. It shows me clearly what I am by nature—one lost in sin and alienated from the life that is in God. I find in it a consistent and wonderful revelation, from Genesis to Revelation, of the character of God, a God far removed from any of my natural imaginings.

"It also reveals a tenderness and nearness of God in Christ which satisfies the heart's longings, and shows me that the infinite God, Creator of the world, took our very nature upon him that he might in infinite love be one with his people to redeem them. I believe in it because it reveals a religion adapted to all classes and races, and it is intellectual suicide knowing it not to believe it.

"What it means to me is as intimate and difficult a question to answer as to be required to give reasons for love of father and mother, wife and children. But this reasonable faith gives me a different relation to family and friends; greater tenderness to these and deeper interest in all men. It takes away the fear of death and creates a bond with those gone before. It shows me God as a Father who perfectly understands, who can give control of appetites and affections, and rouse one to fight with self instead of being self-contented.

"And if faith so reveals God to me, I go without question wherever he may lead me. I can put his assertions and commands above every seeming probability in life, dismissing cherished convictions and looking upon the wisdom and ratiocinations of men as folly if opposed to him. I place no limits to faith when once vested in God, the sum of all wisdom and knowledge, and can trust him though I should have to stand alone before the world in declaring him to be true."

Because of this personal testimony by Dr. Kelly, we wish this pamphlet might be read by every physician. For human homes to have Christian men as their physicians is of more critical importance to the safety of those homes than is generally understood. We also transcribe part of Dr. Warfield's chapter on the deity of Christ. It is as follows:

"A man recognizes on sight the face of his friend, or his own handwriting. Ask him how he knows this face to be that of his friend, or this handwriting to be his own, and he is dumb, or, seeking to reply, babbles nonsense. Yet his recognition rests on solid grounds, though he lacks analytical skill to isolate and state these solid grounds. We believe in God and freedom and immortality on good grounds, though we may not be able satisfactorily to analyze these grounds. No true conviction exists without adequate rational grounding in evidence. So, if we are solidly assured of the deity of Christ, it will be on adequate grounds, appealing to the reason. But it may well be on grounds not analyzed, perhaps not analyzable, by us, so as to exhibit themselves in the forms of formal logic.

"We do not need to wait to analyze the grounds of our convictions before they operate to produce convictions, any more than we need to wait to analyze our food before it nourishes us; and we can soundly believe on evidence much mixed with error, just as we can thrive on food far from pure. The alchemy of the mind, as of the digestive tract, knows how to separate out from the mass what it requires for its support; and as we may live without any knowledge of chemistry, so we may possess earnest convictions, solidly founded in right reason, without the slightest knowledge of logic. The Christian's conviction of the deity of his Lord does not depend for its soundness on the Christian's ability convincingly to state the grounds of his conviction. The evidence he offers for it may be wholly inadequate, while the evidence on which it rests may be absolutely compelling.

"The very abundance and persuasiveness of the evidence of the deity of Christ greatly increases the difficulty of adequately stating it. This is true even of the scriptural evidence, as precise and definite as much of it is. For it is a true remark of Dr. Dale's that the particular texts in which

it is definitely asserted are far from the whole, or even the most impressive, proofs which the Scriptures supply of our Lord's deity. He compares these texts to the salt-crystals which appear on the sand of the sea-beach after the tide has receded. 'These are not,' he remarks, 'the strongest, though they may be the most apparent, proofs that the sea is salt; the salt is present in solution in every bucket of sea water.' The deity of Christ is in solution in every page of the New Testament. Every word that is spoken of him, every word which he is reported to have spoken of himself, is spoken on the assumption that he is God. And that is the reason why the 'criticism' which addresses itself to eliminating the testimony of the New Testament to the deity of our Lord has set itself a hopeless task. The New Testament itself would have to be eliminated. Nor can we get behind this testimony. Because the deity of Christ is the presupposition of every word of the New Testament, it is impossible to select words out of the New Testament from which to construct earlier documents in which the deity of Christ shall not be assumed. The assured conviction of the deity of Christ is coeval with Christianity itself.

"Let us observe in an example or two how thoroughly saturated the gospel narrative is with the assumption of the deity of Christ, so that it crops out in the most unexpected ways and places.

"In three passages of Matthew, reporting words of Jesus, he is represented as speaking familiarly and in the most natural manner in the world, of '*his* angels' (13. 41; 16. 27; 24. 31). In all three he designates himself as the 'Son of man'; and in all three there are additional suggestions of his majesty. 'The Son of man shall send forth *his* angels, and they shall gather out of *his* kingdom all things that cause stumbling and those that do iniquity, and shall cast them into the furnace of fire.'

"Who is this Son of man who has angels, by whose instrumentality the final judgment is executed at his command? 'The Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with *his* angels; and then shall *he* reward every man according to his deeds.' Who is this Son of man surrounded by his angels, in whose hands are the issues of life? The Son of man 'shall send forth *his* angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together *his* elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.' Who is this Son of man at whose behest his angels winnow men? A scrutiny of the passages will show that it is not a peculiar body of angels which is meant by the Son of man's angels, but just the angels as a body, who are his to serve him as he commands. In a word, Jesus Christ is above angels (Mark 13. 32)—as is argued at explicit length at the beginning of the Epistle to the Hebrews. 'To which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand,' etc. (Heb. 1. 13)."

The Christian Pastor in the New Age. By ALBERT JOSIAH LYMAN. 12mo, pp. 174. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, $1, net.

A FRESH taste of the quality of Dr. Lyman, whose flavor is rare and racy. His article in our March number which tried to show "The Spiritual Beauty of the Doctrine of Evolution" exhibited without trying the spiritual beauty of A. J. Lyman. As to his fitness and preparedness to

write effectively upon the topic of the book now before us, anybody who cared to take the trouble could get competent and consentaneous testimony by inquiring of Dr. Lyman's people in the South Congregational Church, Brooklyn, which for thirty-six years has joyously owned and realized in him a pastor of surpassing acceptability and complete efficiency. Dr. Lyman need only pour out upon these pages the fullness of his own pastoral spirit to make the volume glow and tingle with fine enthusiasm, incandescent enough to kindle something similar in us. The *élan*, the *verve*, the chivalry of that pastoral spirit which marks the true minister of Christ so suffuse and vivify this book as to make it contagious to every susceptible ministerial soul. Listen to this sentence, taken haphazard just where we happen to open the book: "The pastor realizes, to the core, that his pastorate is an offense and a farce before God and his own soul unless it be the reflex of an uncommon striving after all that is high and fine in personal character. He enters thus upon the *Via Sanctissima* of his life." Similarly bracing, inspiriting, and summoning are these five uplifting, challenging, and exhilarating chapters, which were given as lectures on the George Shepard Foundation at Bangor Theological Seminary. Nothing is emphasized more than the absolute indispensability of high personal character in the minister. All that we praise and advocate in and for others we ministers are bound to be and to do up to our utmost possibility. What a happy phrase is this of Dr. Lyman's, "the beauty of a consecrated and winnowed manhood"! This book is corrective of the unfortunate misapprehension which makes some men regard pastoral work as the prosy half of a minister's duty. Dr. Lyman is aware that these lectures deal with what seems to some the more perfunctory and humdrum phase of our professional work, as contrasted with the preaching phase of it. But he insists, with splendid ardor flaming up out of faithful, joyful, and triumphant pastoral years, that there can be no ideal or excellent ministerial efficiency unless preaching and pastoral service interplay; unless each of these two poles of the ministerial battery is alive with the power shot over from the other pole; and the vital fire in both poles is one. Also he insists and makes it plain that the necessity for the interplay of these two poles is more urgent now than ever, because the conditions in our modern age require, as no other age ever has, the blending of preacher and pastor in the figure of the one spiritual teacher and leader, making one potent and prevailing personality. Were we required at this moment to name the most valuable chapter in this book, we might select that on "The Pastoral Spirit," because the other chapters are in large degree an amplification of that one; and because the minister who really has the true passionate and enthusiastic pastoral spirit, is sure to discover or devise and to adopt and master methods of work suitable to his peculiar field and manageable by himself with his individual constitution, temperament, and training. With reference to the pastoral calling Dr. Lyman makes three affirmations: 1. The pastor is a human comrade and counselor. 2. He is a spiritual sponsor and guide. 3. He is a social mediator in a distracted age, amid the confused and warring factions of our time. The solemn responsibility and surpassing

sanctity of our calling are impressed by our Master's words concerning us, "As thou didst send me into the world, even so I sent them into the world." Messiahs we in our finite measure, as Christ in his infinite. Our Lord's words are our warrant for understanding the ministerial office to be not only fraternal but also priestly and in some real sense authoritative. Paul understood himself to be a spokesman for the unseen Eternal, an ambassador of Jesus Christ. "As though God were entreating by us," cries this intense, perfervid apostle. Concerning the anointing and empowering from above, these are some of Dr. Lyman's words: "Something does indeed flow down from Christ into the minister's heart—a distinct divine help, though availing itself of the normal channels of his nature, appearing as a deepening of motive, a vivifying of consciousness, a facilitating of growth, an unlocking of latent power; in a word, the realization of an impelling force which fills the normal faculties and channels of his being with a fuller volume of power, to help the minister in all his service, pulpit and pastoral." Having emphasized the fact that the Christian pastor must be the comrade of all the souls committed to his care or within his reach in such close and confidence-inspiring association as will lead them to make him their spiritual confidant, confessor, and adviser, Dr. Lyman shows how imperatively the conditions of this present age require the minister to be a social mediator. Seeing in what a whirling and rocking time we live, amid the dissolution of various traditions, amid intellectual, social, and industrial upheavals and dislocations and realignments, full of possibilities, wavering perilously yet hopefully between the disastrous and the glorious; feeling the acute and recurring shocks between opposing classes; and especially hearing the ominous sound of the sweeping surge of a socialistic propaganda, half mad, half prophetic; seeing all these and other kindred elements seething and boiling in this modern age, Dr. Lyman cries out: "O for a battalion of ministers who shall go forth now in Christ's name, so nobly comrades as to be also true mediators among men! I see the holy and beautiful lips of the Galilean moving again as of old, saying, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' the intellectual and spiritual mediators of the new age. Christian pastors are called of the time and of God to be such. Nobody else can be such so well. The minister must be a mediator now or fail. He must explain men to themselves and to one another. He must explain man to man, class to class. He must be the link of fellowship between what else would fall asunder. He must humanly mediate between men, in order that he may articulate and reincarnate the spirit of his Master's mediation between man and God." Dr. Lyman specifies five main features of the pastoral spirit in action: 1. The chivalry of Christian honor for men, as men. 2. The tenderness of Christian sympathy with men. 3. The genius of rescue. 4. The passion for spiritual sponsorship. 5. The cheer of the invulnerable Christian hope. The last two chapters treat of "The Pastor as Parish Organizer and Leader," and "The Pastor as Preacher and Public Religious Teacher." To the soul capable of feeling it, this manly book is alive, quivering, electric, inciting enough to make him a better minister. Now let us enliven and vary this notice with some of Dr. Lyman's quotations.

He quotes from Adam Bede Mrs. Poyster's saying about the difference between the two parsons of Hayslope: "Mr. Irwine was like a good meal o' victuals—you were the better for him without thinking on it; and Mr. Ryde was like a dose o' physic—he gripped you and he worreted you, and after all, he left you much the same." "Mr. Ryde," says Dr. Lyman, "represents the fault-finding, condemnatory attitude toward humanity; and it is false and bad. . . . . No sense, however poignant, of human misery, error, and unlovableness, or even of the black depths of that iniquity in which humanity plunged can neutralize the true pastor's underlying reverence for the human creature. . . . A Christian minister ought to be able even to walk down the white clanking corridor of the State's prison, bearing to the wrecked and wretched congregation assembled there to meet him, an honor for 'the man within the man.'" Speaking of comradeship our Bangor lecturer says that it does not imply and cannot tolerate such boisterous bonhomie as is satirized by Cowper:

> The man that hails you Tom or Jack,
> And proves by thumping on your back
> His sense of your great merit,
> Is such a friend that one had need
> Be very much his friend indeed
> To pardon or to bear it.

Galton once wrote of the "gently complaining and fatigued spirit in which evangelical divines are apt to spend their days," which recalls Dr. Charles M. Stuart's recent remark about a certain young minister having been much petted and coddled by old women of both sexes. Here is a bit of Dr. Lyman's experience: "I once preached a sermon on the parables. After church, at dinner, my kind host turned to his little daughter, who had attended church with her father, and said: 'Well, Sadie, can you tell now what a parable is?' 'Yes, sir,' said the little Sadie, promptly, and without a suspicion of incivility. 'What is it, my dear?' 'It is this, papa: a parable is a heavenly truth without any earthly meaning.' She didn't understand the burst that followed. I did, and burnt that sermon. Gentlemen, make your pastorate, however high and heavenly, have *earthly meaning*." Take another morsel of practical advice from this Doctor of Divinity who was educated for the medical profession: "It seems worth while to say in passing—cultivate special friendship with high-toned medical men. Their way of looking at life is apt to be saner than yours. Your profession and theirs meet in the care and cure of the same complex human personality. The age-old instinct which has so closely affiliated the two professional offices is just and profound—but not to the point of confusing the two arenas, as some of our mushy modern cults undoubtedly do. Never usurp the physician's place; but always respect the physician's point of view. Correct your own by it. There is no better corrective for your own doctrinaire tendency. All good theology can walk arm in arm with good physics. Do not take such a 'header' into the 'Emmanuel Movement' or any other, that you cannot stand out in honorable, manly, humble friendship with medical men. They know more about curing people than you

or I know, or ever will know." For loveliness take the following from Dr. Lyman (he is speaking of the companionship of Christ's disciples with their Master): "If there were time, one would love to try to sketch that wonderful Syrian idyl, how 'friendship grew from more to more'—to re-adapt Tennyson's delicate phrase—as that little band of men trudged to and fro in Palestine, along the curving, crowded shore of Gennesaret, across the flower-strewn plain of Esdraelon, over the rugged uplands of Judæa, for those three swift, gentle years, sailing in a boat together, camping together at night, and resting side by side at noonday in some green outlooking glade of the hills. The tone was that of a steadily deepening human fellowship with Jesus. They heard the Galilæan intonation. They saw the evenly parted flowing hair. They gazed into his face. They became familiar with the mild, strong brow, the ineffable lit look, the comrade-compelling eyes. They became one with him, with the body and soul of him; so that it had become natural at last for Saint John to lay his older head upon the bosom of the young Master. But this familiarity did not breed satiety, least of all disrespect. The better they came to know him, the more they came to love him; then love whitened into reverence, and reverence hushed itself in a kind of wondering homage and blessed trust, until the mental soil had become mellowed and sifted and prepared for the thrilling enlargement of faith and consecration which followed the resurrection, in which they took up their Master's mediatorial commission in his name."

Pastoral Work. By Rev. R. C. Joynt, M.A. 16mo, pp. 128. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

This is another of the Anglican Church Handbooks, several of which we have already noticed. We will confess that we did not come to this Anglican book very hopefully, having a fear of finding it prim, stiff, perfunctory, mechanical, a bit dilettant. Fairness requires us to confess that it is not so. Perhaps we ought to repent of our fears. The spirit of the book is sweet, devout, fine, noble. We have read it with almost unalloyed pleasure. Beginning with the "Pastor at Prayer," we have this:

> "When one that holds communion with the skies
> Has filled his urn where these pure waters rise,
> And once more mingles with us meaner things,
> It is as though an angel shook his wings;
> Immortal fragrance fills the circuit wide,
> And tells us whence those treasures are supplied.

"Let us settle it in our minds once for all that prayer is the *only* power which moves God's hand, so far as he has revealed his ways to us. All saints who have moved their fellows in the things of God have been men or women of prayer. It is only as the meadows and gardens spread themselves out beneath the sky that they are filled with life and fruit. It is only as the wheels and straps of the factory are linked with the power-house that they can move at all. Are we bemoaning a comparatively fruitless ministry? Look, O, let us look at what happens in our times of prayer. Is the spiritual tone of our flock, of our communicants,

of our fellow workers low? Let us look again in the same place. Have a *fixed* time for meeting God in prayer. The morning is by far the best time for this. The house is still. Callers do not interrupt. The daily paper has not arrived. The post is not yet.

> "Lord, what a change within us one short hour
> Spent in thy presence will avail to make!
> What heavy burdens from our bosoms take,
> What parched grounds revive as with a shower!
> We kneel, and all around us seems to lower;
> We rise, and all, the distant and the near,
> Stands forth, a sunny outline brave and clear.
> We kneel, how weak! we rise, how full of power!"

The exhortation to naturalness is always needed by every generation of preachers: "Some one has said that all church worship should be set to music in 'B natural,' while most of it as a matter of fact is in 'B flat.' This is severe and often but too sadly true. Anyhow, it is extraordinary how listless and unreal we can be in this tremendous business of speaking as God's ambassadors to men. An actor would be hissed from the stage by an indignant gallery, and an advocate wait long for a second brief, if the too frequent ways of the pulpit were to be the way of the footlights or the gown. It would be well worth while for the preacher to pay an occasional visit to one of our higher courts of justice. Let him go there and study the ways of the successful advocate. He will see in him much that will rebuke the messenger of heaven. He has mastered his case in all its bearings; he has made the interests of his client his own interests; and he pleads and reasons with arguments all marshaled with masterly skill, riddling with ridicule or scorn the case presented by the other side, or melting with pathos the heart of the jurors. He has one object constantly before him, and to the attainment of this the whole man and all his powers are bent; and, for the time, anyhow, he seems to care for naught else in the whole world. He seeks *to 'persuade men.'* Compare with all this our ways in pulpit or class. And yet, if we do but believe it, immortal interests of magnitude so vast that no terms in human speech can express them are in our hands. We have come straight out of the presence of the King, who has just given us, *ex hypothesi*, an audience for the purpose, to deliver not a theological essay, but to proclaim a message from him, or to translate into terms of easy comprehension some great article of his will which he would have us explain to his subjects. Where, O where, is the light of heaven on our faces which such an audience and such a task should spread there? Where is the reasoning, the pleading, the warning, the pressing demands for a verdict there and then? 'What word shall I bring again to him that sent me?' This powerlessness and ineffectiveness in the pulpit are explained by one simple but terrible word—*unreality*. This is the cause of the 'Sunday voice,' the listlessness, the absence of pleading and tenderness, the disorderly arrangement of the sermon, and, by consequence, the weariness or the impatience or emptiness of the pew." Systematic visitation of the right quality is emphasized as indispensable for any influential ministry: 'The

minister must give himself heart and soul to this branch of the duties of his calling. How else than by this means can he seek the sheep that have gone or are going astray? How else can he acquire that nearness to his people's lives and that knowledge of their needs which will make his public ministry really useful to them? By what other means will he be able

> By day and night strict guard to keep,
> To warn the sinner, cheer the saint,
> Nourish the lambs and feed the sheep?

This can be possible only by close, personal, intimate contact with the people in their homes. Proficiency in scholarship, easy fluency in pulpit speech, dialectical skill in argument, good fellowship in social life, reverent conduct of the worship of the sanctuary, severity of self-discipline, mastery of the truths of the eternal Scriptures and power with God in prayer are great things; and we must covet them earnestly, and seek to acquire them, and let a holy discontent possess us if they are not ours. But they are neither separately or collectively an adequate substitute for the first condition of a true pastorate, the visiting of the flock. Herein is found more than anywhere else the likeness to the Good Shepherd. It is the story of his going 'away on the mountains wild and bare,' of his climbing the hills 'far off from the gates of gold,' that breaks the heart of stone and furnishes the model for the soul-seeker to copy. He '*went about* doing good.' And Saint Paul recalls the features of his own settled ministry at Ephesus by reminding the elders of that church that he taught them from *house to house*, that he ceased not to warn *every* one of them day and night, and that he had gone in and out *among them*. Moreover, it is the unanimous testimony of experience that it is the man whom men have learned to know by their own fireside, whether in cottage or mansion, to whose pulpit message they will most willingly listen, and to whom in the cloudy and dark day of sickness and loneliness they will most readily turn." On the matter of tactful and helpful visitation of the sick some useful hints are given: "If on a second visit to the sick we are told that the sufferer is too ill or too tired to see us, it is more than probable that we blundered somehow. This, surely, is not always so; but it often is. We have been either too loud or too rough or too long, or we have been awkward and self-conscious in manner, with the result that he was tired rather than refreshed, and now he asks in a weary way to be excused. Well, let us learn by our failures and try to do better. Cases of serious illness we will try to visit frequently, even daily or oftener. Our visits to them will be short—just a pressure of the hand, a brief message from God *well* chosen, and brief, pointed prayer that does not wander round the whole orbit of spiritual experience, but deals tenderly and plainly with the sufferer's physical and spiritual need. Though it be short, our visit must never suggest bustle or haste, or leave an agitated atmosphere behind. Chronic or prolonged illness we must seek to deal with in quite a different way. But there must be *method*. We will call at regular intervals, and seek, too, to be systematic in the order of our teaching in such cases. Here we can sit a little longer by the bedside. We can enter into

the general interests of the patient. If he is poor, we are probably the chief medium between him and the outer world, and we must try to carry a breezy freshness into the dull room. A bunch of flowers or the loan of a book will nearly always be welcome. A long illness gives the pastor his chance of proving in a multitude of small ways that he is a real friend, a man of flesh and blood as well as spirit; and holy intimacies which will last into eternity will be formed. He is his Master's representative, and his visits, free from the stiffness of officialism, and fragrant with really loving interest, will often be the outstanding event in a sufferer's dreary day. But he must never let himself forget that he is before all else a 'steward of the mysteries of God,' and that 'it is required in stewards that a man be found *faithful*.' It is the things that are Jesus Christ's that he has come to bring." For the practice of gentle wisdom and tender consideration there is no such school or sphere as the sick-room or the house of mourning. One extreme instance, known to us, stands in our mind as the type of tactless visitation. The sufferer had been ill a long time. The visitor took a chair by the bedside, leaned over the invalid, critically scrutinized the bloodless and emaciated face, and then said, abruptly, "Well, ain't it amazing, Eliza, how you do hang on?" When this Anglican book comes to discuss relations with Nonconformists, it shows considerable good sense: "There is no strong sign given by the non-episcopal bodies that they have any great wish, not to speak of deep heart yearning, to come back, under any conditions which demand sacrifice, to the old fold. The segments of the circle which were broken off, or broke away of their own accord, have in process of time become full-orbed themselves, and now sweep along in an orbit of their own. The analogy of the heavenly bodies and their processes of formation is suggestive. The constellations would appear to have been formed in some cases by nebulous aggregation first of all; that is, the gradual cohesion of enormous masses of undefined material gathered to centers as the result of very rapid rotation. Some of these aggregates in their earliest efforts would collide with others; while yet others, being only held together by weak bonds, would break up into sections of varying dimensions; these in their turn (and, again, as the result of revolution in more or less well defined courses) being formed into stars of the minor magnitudes. But with what sublime results and effects have these stupendous movements been followed under the governing eye of Him who bringeth out their hosts by number! What a spectacle of splendor, majesty, order, and beauty the spacious firmament on high presents when no earth-born clouds arise to hide or becloud the vision! Greater and smaller magnitudes; greater and lesser distances; varieties of constitution and chemical ingredient; differences even of *color* there are; but, as we look, we say in adoring wonder that they declare the glory of God, and that all his works praise him, and proclaim that the Hand that made them is divine. And who dreams of gathering them all into one gigantic sun? The Church has her firmament too, with its greater and lesser lights. It too has had its collisions, and its nebulous opinions concentrated in well-defined, full-orbed, and light-radiating creeds. It too has seen that when the central nucleus held

the outlying elements with a weakly grasp, these have broken off or drifted off to become in turn bright stars, themselves working out their divinely given laws according to their own genius. And why not? Behold the effects if rightly viewed! Not one great light to shine on the world but *many*, some greater and some less. If the figure may still be pursued, is God more glorified by one great Sirius absorbing into itself, or even linking close to itself, all the other lights of the November sky, than by the present method whereby the whole vault above is bespangled with myriads of lights of which each in its own office waits? Or, to look elsewhere for a guiding analogy, is the British army, to be efficient, to consist of *one* regiment? Will things be improved by its officers interchanging 'parade grounds'? Or by the rank and file tearing their denominational numbers from their shoulder-straps as though they were symbols of dissension? Will the country's foes, if she has any, be more afraid of us when regimental distinctions of uniform and the like have disappeared, and when the troops refuse to see any value in the system which would place, say, West African regiments, with their weird battle cries and quaint attire, under a different regime from that appointed for the Second Life Guards? An army is not a mob or an unordered crowd. The church in the widest sense, too, has her regimental system. She has her ranks distributed under great varieties of leadership and discipline. She has one Commander-in-Chief, and all parts of the army hold him as the Head. There is a good deal of undesirable jealousy and suspicion, and these owing to some unevenness in the distribution of decorations; but they will not be removed by attempts at fusion, or by prescribing uniform methods of enrollment or training. The troops will, when the last word has been said, best serve under their own officers; and in the day of battle or at the call of their Divine Commander they will go solid with a united front against the foe. And such calls are not few or infrequent. The call to fight drink, unregulated passion, gambling, selfishness, and unbelief is a daily call. In the fight against these hideous enemies of God and the human race united action is called for and is possible every day. There is an immense field of coöperation standing ready with its gates wide open, and free from all ecclesiastical tests, which invites our laboring bands, where the rich grain fields are being devoured by insidious pests while we are settling at the gate questions of precedence, the vesting of the reaper, or the shape of the sickle. *Open-air services*, too, furnish admirable opportunity for the kind of noncompromising coöperation for which this page pleads. There is no denominational test needed. We can boldly rebuke vice and lovingly declare God's supreme demands here. The Wesleyan hand may wrest from his grasp with tender compulsion the drunkard's tankard, while the churchman may place there a draught from the pure river of the water of life; and both can return to their own proper ministries altogether blessed by this form of interchange. Let pardon be granted for introducing here from a weekly paper an impression of another great force which is working in the direction of a union which involves no compromise of principles—the *Keswick Convention*: 'One was more than ever moved by the extraordinary beauty of that girdle

of blue-purple hills which surrounds the town and the Derwentwater lake, "child of the clouds remote from every stain," and also by the indescribable fragrance of the air. In such a setting was the Keswick Convention, mother of many similar sacred Parliaments, first founded by the holy hands of an English clergyman thirty and odd years ago. Though neither possessing nor making a claim to be what is called a Keswick man, I am yet profoundly convinced that in these gatherings, so sober, reverent, and (this year, anyhow) so free from the perils of mere emotion, God makes the place of his feet glorious. The assemblies in the tents were certainly very remarkable in every way. Their size, the great numbers of clergy (some being what are called High Church clergy), the large contingents from universities and mission fields, as well as the great numbers of young men and young women of all ranks—these were features which forced themselves on the notice of those who were in a position to take note of them. I was, if possible, more impressed by the listeners than by the speakers. Their evident keenness to hear and learn, the thousands of Bibles in use all over those vast areas, the strained attention, the singing, and the deep hush which often swept noiselessly over the immense concourse, were all very impressive indeed. Probably nowhere else would quite three thousand persons be seen making their way to an Intercession Meeting at the early hour of seven in the morning. At the evening Convention Meetings no doubt many felt that the speaking varied in spiritual power, and that some of those who addressed us did not gain the same degree of access to their hearers' hearts as was given to others. The general impression remaining in my mind after this sacred and precious interlude in a busy life is that it was good—more than good, blessed—to be there, and that it is a profound loss to any shepherd of souls, as well as to the flock he feeds, if he holds aloof from these holy convocations. And I write at the standpoint of one who gives not a merely official adherence, but a deep and devoted affection, to our more than beloved Church of England. "Jesus stood on the shore; but the disciples *knew not* that it was Jesus." Men are coming more and more to see that the want of the hour, the want that cries in their deepest heart, is not more or better organization, but more power from God, and deeper life on the part of his representatives." The book closes as follows: "The feature of a pastor's holiday which probably many of us enjoy most, in prospect anyhow, is escape from the sound of our door-bells. When things are right between us and the flock there will be many coming and going, and we cannot 'be hid' any more than our Master could in the days when he would have no man know where he was. Saint Paul 'received all that came in unto him,' and such must be our *rule* too. Great preachers there have been who fled to the British Museum library to escape the callers; or who hung out cards on their study doors forbidding disturbers, whatever might be their business. But to be always accessible, and to bear the image of the Master on our faces in the presence of bores and gossips as well as of real seekers after help for their souls, needs much *grace*. That image will be borne only by those who *dwell* in the secret place; who *live* in the presence of God. Apart from those who come on their own initiative there

are many in most congregations who, though they would shrink from a spontaneous opening of their soul's difficulties to us, will yet be encouraged by an occasional informal or passing announcement that we are glad to see real seekers at our homes. The hysterical or neurotic visitor we will be very cautious with. She (for this is the sex of such as a rule) does not require spiritual consolation at all, but possibly sea air, more bodily exercise, to live on better terms with her people at home, or some definite work which will take her out of herself. She must not on any account be encouraged to call on us often. Men, and especially young men, are greatly drawn to us by an invitation to dinner or tea, especially if they are not merely a section of a large gathering. To be able to do this well is a very real pastoral gift. We are in this social way likely to get *nearer* to men than by pulpit gifts, however great. Both are good. Neither can be dispensed with. It is wonderful how few men know their pastor well. A piece of paper was lately picked up in a pew. It contained, in a man's writing, a few notes of a sermon, with this comment at the foot: 'He is not a great preacher, but he has wonderfully helped me, and I feel that I could go to him in spiritual difficulty more easily than to any man I know.'"

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE

Essays on Modern Novelists. By WILLIAM LYON PHELPS, M.A., Ph.D., Lampson Professor of English Literature at Yale. 12mo, pp. 293. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, $1.50, net.

A DISTINCTLY *modern* book; modern in its subjects—William De Morgan, W. D. Howells, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Rudyard Kipling, Mark Twain, and the like; modern in its authorship, Professor Phelps being one of the younger literary critics of America, and quite modern in spirit and in style. The book is every way contemporary with its readers. In particular it has this living interest, that it deals with authors whose ultimate repute and rank are not yet agreed upon and decided; so that the reader may feel at liberty and also feel able to have an opinion of his own, to participate in the discussions, since they relate to open questions and estimates and reputations still debatable. The reader is not suppressed, over-awed, and silenced as by the serene and settled majesty of established classics. When, for example, Professor Phelps gives Mark Twain a place in the front rank and on the top level of literature, the reader feels himself on familiar ground, knows the subject pretty intimately, and is quite likely to have a decided and, possibly, a very different opinion of his own. Largely this book deals with reputations that are still in the making, and with subjects where there is still plenty of room for *pro* and *con*. Any place will do for us to strike into the book. Page 253, Appendix B, has this opinion from the author: "I believe that the cardinal error of a divinity-school education is that the candidate for the ministry spends half his time in the laborious study of Hebrew, whereas he should study the subjects that primarily interest not his colleagues but his audience.

Priests
Should study passion: how else cure mankind,
Who come for help in passionate extremes?

A preacher who knows Hebrew, Greek, systematic theology, New Testament interpretation, and who knows nothing about literature, history, art, and human nature, is grotesquely unfitted for his noble profession." One of Professor Phelps's most interesting chapters is on William De Morgan, author of Joseph Vance, Alice-For-Short, Somehow Good, and It Never Can Happen Again. One remarkable fact is that this possibly most famous of novelists now living did not begin the first chapter of his first book until he was past sixty-three years of age. He did most of his brilliant and powerful work and rose suddenly into fame after he was sixty-five. One characteristic of De Morgan may be a hint for preachers. He never begins slowly. His books do not deserve the description once given by the advertiser of a certain novel, "This book goes with a rush and ends with a smash," but he always begins briskly. He gets under way speedily and plunges at once into the very heart of action. We are told how Tolstoy, picking up a little story by Pushkin, paused with delight on the first sentence, "The guests began to assemble the evening before the *fete*." "That's the way to begin a story," cried the great Russian. "The reader is taken at one stroke into the midst of the action. Another writer would have commenced by describing the guests, the rooms, while Pushkin goes straight at his goal." De Morgan's books are vivacious at the start; a sense of action stirs in the first scene. It is well for the preacher to get the attention of his audience at the start, by saying something significant in his opening paragraph. Prolongation of preliminary palaver (as Dr. Johnson might have expressed it) has ruined many a sermon. Of two successive pastors in a prominent New York city church it was said: "It took the first one twenty or thirty minutes to get under way. His successor strikes twelve in the first sentence and keeps on striking all the way through." The second of these was Cyrus D. Foss. His first sentence fixed attention like the clear, high sound of a bugle, and from then to the end all was movement, meaning, and incitement. Of such preaching nobody can say, as a little girl said of a certain speaker, "He talked and talked and talked, and we all thought he was going to say something; but he didn't." Professor Phelps says that De Morgan might have prefixed to all his novels the words which Browning prefixes to "Sordello": "My stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul; little else is worth study." In Joseph Vance the following remark of Dr. Thorpe is said to express both the philosophy of De Morgan and the basal moral principle underlying the whole book: "The highest good is the growth of the soul, and the greatest man is he who rejoices most in great fulfillments of the will of God." Our author notes that De Morgan is a bit shame-faced when he talks about the deepest things, the things that really interest him most. His Reverend Mr. Capstick is far from being an ideal type. "But he has one characteristic that we might, to a certain extent, imitate; he sees no reason to apologize for conversing on great topics, or to break

up such a conversation with an embarrassed laugh. Most of us are horribly afraid of being taken for sanctimonious persons, when there is not the slightest danger of it. We are always pleasantly surprised when we discover that our friends are at heart just as serious as we are, and that they, too, regret the mask of flippancy that our Anglo-Saxon false modesty compels us to wear. It is noted that in De Morgan's books all the characters that he loves show *soul-development;* the few characters that are unlovely have souls that do not advance. Most of his characters have the inner man renewed day by day; and the reader feels that at physical death such personalities proceed naturally into a sphere of eternal progress. But he has some characters whose souls stand still; and the reader finds himself thinking, 'Why should they live forever?'" This is the distinction which De Morgan seems to make between people who are fundamentally good and those who are fundamentally bad. Another thing noted by Professor Phelps in De Morgan's books is the potent influence of good women on men's lives. It is truly said that the tone and significance of Guy de Maupassant's works would be completely changed if he had included some women who combined virtue with personal charm. We quote: "Young Joseph Vance was fortunate indeed in having in his life the powerful influence of two such characters as Lossie Thorpe and Janey Spencer. They were what a compass is to sailor, taking him straight on his course through the blackest storms. It was for Lossie that he made the greatest sacrifice in his whole existence; and *nothing pays a higher rate of moral interest than a big sacrifice.* It was Janey who led him from the grossness of earth into the spiritual world—something that Lossie, with all her loveliness, could not do. De Morgan's women show that there is nothing inherently dull in goodness; it may be accompanied with some *esprit.* We are too apt to think that moral goodness is represented by such persons as the elder brother in the story of the prodigal son, whereas the parable indicates that the younger brother, with all his crimes, was actually the more virtuous and lovable of the two." Professor Phelps says that, in De Morgan's novels, "Salvation often assumes a feminine shape." Another thing to De Morgan's credit is that he creates "orthodox believers, like Lossie's husband and Athelstan Taylor—big wholesome fellows—and deliberately makes them irresistibly attractive. The professional parson is often ridiculed in modern novels; but in De Morgan's book the only important character who combines intelligence with virtue is the Reverend Athelstan Taylor." Speaking of Kipling, Professor Phelps says that he had, twenty years ago, "what the Methodists call 'liberty.'" Writing of Thomas Hardy, he says: "Every man must love something greater than himself, and as Mr. Hardy had no God, he has drawn close to the world of trees, plains, and rivers." All the god Hardy knows is a hideous and savage monster. Of course he is a bitter and utter pessimist. We are not able to share our author's admiration for this pessimism, even granting that Hardy was sincere in it. We cannot concede dignity or impressiveness or sanity to Hardy's conception of God as "a kind of insane child who cackles foolishly as he destroys the most precious objects." In truth, we

have no respect whatever for such a conception. Hardy's conception is as unworthy and intolerable as the God he imagines. And such a conception makes Hardy absurd. The nature of Hardy's women may be inferred from the fact that one woman reader, exasperated and outraged at his female characters, wrote on the margin of one of his books, "O, how I *hate* Thomas Hardy!" Professor Phelps says Hardy represents his women as swayed by sudden and constantly changing caprice, changing their minds oftener than they change their clothes. "And they all resemble their maker in one respect: at heart every one of them is a pagan. It is human passion, and not religion, that is the mainspring of their lives. He has never drawn a truly spiritual woman, like Browning's Pompilia"—who, we may add, is almost if not quite the most spiritual woman in all poetry or fiction. Writing of Björnstjerne Björnson, our author says that in one of this novelist's books a variety of educational theories are aired, but "the chief one appears to be that in the curriculum for young girls the major study should be physiology. Hygiene, which so many bewildered persons are accepting just now in lieu of the gospel, plays a heavy part in Björnson's later work. The gymnasium takes the place of the church; and acrobatic feats of the body are deemed more healthful than the religious aspirations of the soul. One of the characters usually appears walking on his hands, which is not the only way in which he is upside down." Professor Phelps thinks W. D. Howells has had more influence on the output of fiction in America than any other living man, but rates Mark Twain as "our foremost living American writer." As a sample of Twain's humor this is quoted from Following the Equator: "We sailed for America, and there made certain preparations. This took but little time. Two members of my family elected to go with me. Also a carbuncle. The dictionary says a carbuncle is a kind of jewel. Humor is out of place in a dictionary." Huckleberry Finn seems to our essayist a wonderful boy, "the child of nature, harmless, sincere, and crudely imaginative. His reasonings with Jim about God and nature belong to the same department of natural theology as that illustrated by Browning's Caliban. The night on the raft with Jim, when these two creatures look aloft at the stars, and Jim reckons the moon laid them like eggs, is a case in point: 'We had the sky up there, all speckled with stars, and we used to lie on our backs and look up at them, and discuss whether they was made or just happened. Jim he allowed they was made, but I allowed they happened; I judged it would have took too long to *make* so many. Jim said the moon could 'a' *laid* them; well, that looked kind of reasonable, so I didn't say anything against it, 'cause I've seen a frog lay most as many, so of course it could be done. We used to watch the stars that fell too, and see them streak down. Jim allowed they'd got spoiled and was hove out of the nest.'" Louis Stevenson loved Sir Walter Scott, yet said: "It is undeniable that the love of slap-dash and shoddy grew upon Scott along with success. He had splendid gifts. How comes it, then, that he could so often fob us off with languid, inarticulate twaddle?" Wonder if there is any minister in need of that hint? How much more salutary is Stevenson's influence than Hardy's! Of him Professor Phelps

truly says: "His optimism was based on a chronic experience of physical pain and weakness; to him it was a good world and he made it distinctly better by his presence. He was a combination of the Bohemian and the Covenanter; he had all the graces and charm of the one and the hed-rock moral earnestness of the other. 'The world must return some day to the word Duty,' said he, 'and be done with the word Reward.'" Here is an amusing as well as instructive bit about Herbert Spencer. His friends selected a certain woman as his potential spouse. They shut him up with her, and awaited the result with eagerness. They had told him that she had a great mind; but on emerging from the trial interview Spencer remarked that she would not do at all. "The lady is, in my opinion, too highly intellectual; or, I should rather say, morbidly intellectual: a small brain in a state of intense activity." Professor Phelps says this formula fits Mrs. Humphry Ward's heroines. A thoroughly modern book in the dialect of the twentieth century is this volume on modern novelists.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY

Thoburn and India. Edited by William Henry Crawford President of Allegheny College. Crown 8vo, pp. 253. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price, cloth, $1, net.

The celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Bishop James M. Thoburn's first sailing for India was held at Allegheny College and occupied three days. This volume is a report of all that was said and done in that very notable celebration of the life and work of a most remarkable man. Here are Bishop Thoburn's semicentennial sermon and all the addresses delivered by men gathered from far and near at the call of President Crawford. Seldom has any celebration been planned and managed with such admirable skill. Through the deep impressions made at the time, and through the circulation of the volume now before us, the influence of that unique commemoration will be wide and lasting. This is an inspiring volume. The spirit of missions, the passion for saving men, the glorious gospel of redemption by Jesus Christ, flame through its pages. It is a valuable addition to the burning and luminous literature which is kindling the faith and zeal of Christendom to a white heat for the capture of heathendom for Christ. We are living in a rushing time. The forces of Christianity are being mobilized. A new era for foreign missions is at hand. This volume is a treasure-house of significant facts and living thought, not of essays and disquisitions, but of strenuous and stirring speech, full of lift and swing and go. A few extracts may confirm what we have said. We open at Dr. Herben's address on "High Ideals for High Service," and find this militant bit, suited to make some good soldiers for Jesus Christ: "There is a story of the Scotch Guards and the expedition to Ashanti. The Guards were called upon to engage in a perilous undertaking. The colonel frankly told his men that not many of them would return alive. No man was ordered to go. But volunteers were called for. And so the colonel said, 'Any man who will volunteer

will step one pace to the front,' and then he turned his back to them so as not to embarrass them in their decision. After a moment he faced the line again. It was without a break. Anger arose in his heart, and leaped to his face. 'What,' said he in hot wrath, 'the Scotch Guards and not a volunteer!' Whereupon a soldier stepped from the ranks, saluted his commander, and said, 'Colonel, the whole line has stepped forward.' That was the spirit of conquest. That is the spirit we need to take this world for Jesus Christ." Another bit from President Hyde, of Bowdoin, appealing to students in behalf of Jesus Christ: "Start where you will in the moral world, if you follow principles to their conclusions they always lead you up to Christ. He touched life so deeply, so broadly, and so truly that all brave, generous living is summed up in him. Starting with the code you have here worked out for yourselves, translating it into positive terms, and enlarging it to the dimensions of the world you are about to enter, your code becomes simply a fresh interpretation of the meaning of the Christian life. All that we have been saying has its counterpart in that great life of his. He gave his best, and how good and beneficent it was!" Here is a bit from the biography of Alice Freeman Palmer concerning her service for others: "There was in her a wastefulness like that of the blossoming tree. It sometimes disturbed me, and for it I occasionally took her to task. 'Why will you,' I said, 'give all this time to speaking before uninstructed audiences, to discussions in endless committees with people too dull to know whether they are talking to the point, and to anxious interviews with tired and tiresome women? You would exhaust yourself less in writing books of lasting consequence. At present you are building no monument. When you are gone good people will ask who you were, and nobody will be able to say.' But I always received the same indifferent answer: 'Well, why should they say? I am trying to make girls wiser and happier. Books don't help much toward that. They are really dead things. Why should I make more of them? It is people that count. You want to put yourself into people. They touch other people, these others still, and so you go on working forever.'" Of the preëminence of missionaries Dr. Herben says: "The missionary is held in high esteem wherever his work is known. The idea of sacrifice is always associated with him. He is looked upon as one who endures hardship as a good soldier of the cross. He is on the fighting line. He makes up 'the thin red line of heroes' that is bringing the distant peoples into subjection to Jesus Christ. No wonder he is held in deep affection the whole world around. The late Dr. John Watson said of the missionaries: 'We second-rate fellows here at home are the militia: a very respectable lot of hardworking men, but just militia. They are the fighting line. Theirs are the medals with the bars. They are our Victoria Cross men.' And a short time ago the head master of a famous boys' school in Massachusetts declared: 'I have much to do with boys; and I would rather have one of my boys become a foreign missionary than President of the United States. The work of missionaries is the grandest in the whole world, and the missionaries are the heroes of modern times." In Bishop McDowell's thrilling speech we feel the onset and urge of a living soul and

a quickening spirit. Hear him: "Professor James has discussed the need of a modern equivalent for war as an occupation. What makes war so appealing to youth? Well, war seems to eager and ardent spirits to be a thing worth going into. I doubt not there are men back here on this campus this week who were on this campus in the early '60's; who thought that their lives would be quite well spent if they gave those lives to the service of the nation. And I do not doubt that on this campus men quit singing 'Lauriger Horatius' and all the rest of the college songs they knew and began to sing, 'We are coming, Father Abraham,' and were glad of the chance, counting not their lives dear unto themselves. Now, what is the modern equivalent for war in its appeal to college youth? I do not hesitate to say that the church's missionary enterprise is the one largest appeal that it has to make to youth this day. In the first place, this is *the one thing that is now best worth doing.* And college fellows want to be into the things that are best worth doing. In the second place, this missionary enterprise offers to the college youth *fellowship with the people that are best worth knowing.* And in the third place, it gives them a *chance to tell the story that is best worth telling.*" Bishop McDowell tells what his sick daughter said to him on the eve of the Student Volunteer Missionary Convention at Nashville: "I went to that convention under painful, pitiful circumstances. My college youngster seemed that week near the end of her earthly life, though she rallied and lasted a year after that. I said on Saturday night, 'I do not see how I can go to the convention.' She knew of my engagement there, and, calling me to her, she said: 'Daddy, I will not slip away while you are gone. And there will be all those students at Nashville. You go down and tell them that any one of them who gets a chance to tell the story of Jesus Christ anywhere in the world ought to jump at it.'" One more bit from Bishop McDowell: "I was the other day up at Madison, Wisconsin, and sat down to breakfast in the hotel alone. Presently a fine young fellow sat down opposite me. He was all full of his own affairs. It was evidently one of his early trips out, and he wanted to talk about things. After we had exchanged the courtesies of the morning he asked me if I was a traveling man, and I said I was. 'Yes,' he said, 'so am I.' And he went on to tell me that he was in the jewelry business, and I said I was in the jewel business myself—'When he cometh to make up his jewels,' you know. He said, 'I am in business with my father.' I said, 'I am in business with my Father.' He said, 'My father started the business long ago, and he has taken me into partnership with him.' And I said, 'My Father started the business long ago, and I am in partnership with him.' He looked at me a minute and he said, 'I have a suspicion that you are guying me.' I said, 'No, I am a Methodist preacher and a Methodist bishop, and I am in business with my Father, in the business he started, and he took me into partnership with him.' That is it—the business our Father started, and took us into partnership with him, the business of telling the story of Jesus Christ and his redemption. The appeal to college men and women on the basis that the thing is worth doing, and the folks are worth knowing, and the story is worth telling, will awaken its own response."

Dr. John W. King told this story of young James M. Thoburn's first return from India on a furlough: "He invited his sister one day to take a walk with him. They followed the road leading to the schoolhouse on the pike, whither he had so often gone as a lad. He said to her, 'I am tempted to stay at home and not go back again to India.' 'You had a call from God to go, did you not?' 'Certainly I did,' was the reply. 'Have you the same kind of a call to stay, flattering as the offers are to do so?' 'I do not think so,' answered the young missionary, and the sister answered, 'Much as we should love to have you with us, you would better follow the divine leading.' Later this same sister was called to the mission field. Her noble work for and with the women of India is well known." Reviewing the great Thoburn Jubilee, President Crawford, of Allegheny College, says: "In trying to think over all that happened in the three days, I find myself settling down to the thought that the most impressive feature of the Jubilee was Bishop Thoburn himself—quiet, modest, unassuming, apparently altogether undisturbed by what was going on; hearing and seeing everything, responding to every recognition with the simple dignity of a saint; eyes filled up at times, voice choking, but always giving the impression that the strong Son of God was by his side. When one of the speakers in the closing words of his address turned to Thoburn, strong men cried like children; the whole audience was moved and melted at the recognition given, and quietly joined with the dear bishop in giving God all the glory."

MISCELLANEOUS

The Christian Doctrine of God. By William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor in Colgate University. 12mo, pp. xiv, 477. International Theological Library. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Price, cloth, $2.50, net.

This treatise, which in the times of recitation method in professional instruction might be well used as a theological text-book, is presented from the standpoint of the secular thinker who is evidently much affected by the scientific temper of the age. The method differs widely from that of the celebrated Professor Charles Hodge in his famous work on Systematic Theology forty years ago, that, especially in the department of theology proper, commanded the respectful consideration and appreciation of many eminent scholars. Professor Clarke's production is most welcome because it is suited to the spirit of the times, recognizing the importance of the conclusions which the investigations of Charles Darwin and other scholars in the same field have necessitated. The recent achievements in the study of psychology are also utilized. While the book proposes to present the Christian doctrine of God, there is scant quotation of Scripture texts, though such as are chosen are delightfully apt and forcible, showing that the writer accepts the authoritative validity of the Inspired Word. He distinctly avers, however, that much of man's experimental knowledge of the Deity is derived from other sources. Valuable as may be the Hebrew conceptions of God as recorded in the Old Testament, to which Christianity is so greatly indebted, the beliefs founded on the gospel

have been profitably developed by reverential inquiry and investigation apart from the study of the Holy Bible, and thus new statements of the doctrine must be made from time to time. The faith of the Christians is elucidated rather than defended. "Religion," says Professor Clarke, "is the clearest way to the knowledge of God." Monotheism is stoutly affirmed, differing from philosophical monism in that Christianity claims the comforts and other benefits of a divine Personality who is transcendent in relation to his universe. There are no conflicting elements in the character of God, and his creatures may rely on his goodness with absolute confidence. The Trinitarian doctrine of the Godhead, as revealing, revealed, and abiding, is realized in personal experience, and appears as an integral feature in man's spiritual being. It affirms triunity, but denounces tritheism. In divine providence there are no favoritisms. God is Saviour for all, whether good or bad, but the efficacy of his loving provisions depends on the attitude of the potential beneficiaries. Omnipotence is described as power adequate to all the demands of a righteous and rationally conducted universe. Miracles may be within the realm of an entirely normal activity with which men are unfamiliar. The modern statement of God's immanence is a modified and advanced form of the doctrine of omnipresence as formerly taught, laying special stress on personal interposition, and discountenancing pantheistic tendencies. While many difficulties are encountered in the study of theology, some help in their solution may be derived in considering that God is the Author of a world incalculably more extensive than was imagined before modern science, with telescope, microscope, and spectrum, began to display its wonders, but in the very nature of things the mysteries of the Infinite can never be entirely comprehended by the finite mind. In presenting the argument for the existence of God Professor Clarke reverses the order formerly employed. He thinks that the evangelical view of the divine character, discarding the term "attributes," should be first stated, and then the mind is better prepared to consider the reasons for believing. In addition to arguments heretofore offered, more or less convincing, evidence is cited from two sources: First, the universe displays a rational order, and must, therefore, be produced by a rational creator; secondly, the spiritual nature of man, the highest result of development in process for an unknown period, demands a real object to satisfy its longing, and there must ever be something beyond our noblest aspirations. Intellectual difficulties will be encountered at every stage of progress, but the venture that evangelical faith "makes, instead of being an unmanly thing, or an escape from untenable ground into a fool's paradise of confidence, is a consistent declaration of the supremacy of all that has a right to be supreme."